

THE
INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL,

INTRODUCED BY THE MUHAMMADANS,

ON THEIR CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY,

A.H. 600 TO 800 {A.D. 1203—1337}

(Chiefly illustrated from the Specimens in the Kooch Bahár Trouvaille)

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BY
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TOWARDS the end of August, 1863, an unusually large hoard of coins, numbering in all no less than 13,500 pieces of silver, was found in the Protected State of Kooch Bahár, in Northern Bengal, the contents of which were consigned, in the ordinary payment of revenue, to the Imperial Treasury in Calcutta. Advantage was wisely sought to be taken of the possible archæological interest of such a discovery, in selections directed to be made from the general bulk to enrich the medal cabinets of the local Mint and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The task of selection, and with it of inevitably final rejection, was entrusted to Babu Rajendra-lál Mitra,—an experienced scholar in many branches of Sanskrit literature, and who, in the absence of more practised Numismatists, courageously encountered the novel study and impromptu exposition of Semitic Palæography as practically developed in his own native land six centuries ago. The Bábu, after having assiduously completed his selections for the Government,¹ was considerate enough to devote himself to renewed and more critical examinations of this mass of coined metal, with a view to secure for Colonel C S Guthrie (late of the Bengal Engineers), any examples of importance that might have escaped his earlier investigations. The result has been that more than a thousand additional specimens have been rescued from the Presidency Mint crucibles, and now contribute the leading materials for the subjoined monograph.

An autumnal fall of a river bank, not far removed from the traditional capital of *Kuntesswar Raja*, a link of mark in provincial annals,² disclosed to modern eyes the hidden trea-

¹ J A S Bengal 1864 p 480

² Col. J C. Haughton to whom we are mainly indebted for the knowledge of this *trouvaille*, has been so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting

sure of some credulous mortal who, in olden time, entrusted his wealth to the keeping of an alluvial soil, carefully stored and secured in brass vessels specially constructed for the purpose, but destined to contribute undesignedly to an alien inheritance, and a disentanglement at a period much posterior to that contemplated by its depositor. This accumulation, so singular in its numerical amount, is not the less remarkable in the details of its component elements—whether as regards the, so to say, newness and sharpness of outline of the majority of the pieces themselves, the peculiarly local character of the whole collection, or its extremely limited range in point of time. It may be said to embrace compactly the records of ten kings, ten mint cities, and to represent 107 years of the annals of the country. The date of its inhumation may be fixed, almost with precision, towards the end of the eighth century A.H., or the fourteenth century A.D. A very limited proportion of the entire aggregation was contributed by external currencies, and the imperial metropolis of Dehli alone intervenes to disturb the purely indigenous issues, and that merely to the extent of *less than 150* out of the 13,500 otherwise unmixed produce of Bengal Mints.¹

details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities Col. Haughton writes —“The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenabatta, not far from the Temple of Kuteswarree (or Komit-Eswarree) on the banks of the river Dhurra. Near to this temple is a place called Gossain Morree a short distance from which are the ruins of Kuteswar Raja's capital called Kuteswarree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotals*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron spike passing from side to side.”

¹ I wish to explain the reservations I make in thus stating this total below that given in Rajendra lala's list of 150 coins of *seven* Dehli kings (J.A.S.B., September, 1864, p. 481). In the first place, I greatly mistrust the

the use of his simple name and patronymic; no longer the “glory of the faith,” he was the far more humble *الوقت بتائيد الرحمن*, or the conventional *سبل الله المجاهد في* (Zia-i-Barni, Calcutta edit., p. 196), both of which were so persistently copied by the independent Bengal Sultan. Certainly no such title as *محر الدين* occurs on any of the specimens of the *Koorah*

The exclusively home characteristics of the great majority of the collection are enlivened by the occasional intrusion of mementos of imperial re-assertions, and numismatic contributions from other independent sources aid in the casual illustration of the varying political conditions of the province, and of the relations maintained from time to time between the too-independent governors of a distant principality and their liege suzerains at Delhi.

Muhammadian writers have incidentally preserved a record of the fact, that on the first entry of their armies into Bengal, they found an exclusive *cowrie* or shell currency, assisted possibly by bullion in the larger payments, but associated with no coined money of any description;¹ a heritage of primitive

... .. rie, with the exception
... .. intrusion of coins of
... .. a more direct way, by
assigning the supposed examples of his money to the potentate from whose mints they really came, that is, *Ikhidr-ud-din* GHAZI SHAH (No vi infra), giving a

papers), and transferred him, in the printed proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to an anomalous position at the end of the Bengal Pathāns (p 483), while omitting to deduct him from the total number of "eight Delhi Pathāns," which reckoning has been allowed to stand at p 480. In the matter of date, we are not informed why this king should be assigned to A D 1491, instead of to the true 1320 A D which history claims for him.

¹ Minhāj-ul-Sirāj, who was resident in Lakhnauti in A H 641, writes
چنان بقرار کردند که دران بلاد کوده نعوص چیتل رواں است
Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, p 149, Calcutta printed edition (1861) Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldiv Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice, the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows ساد = 100 cownies قال = 700

كُتِي = 12000 نُستو = 100,000, four *bustus* were estimated as worth one gold

scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee—Prinsep's U T, p 2 Major Rennell, who was in Silhet in 1767-8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks "I found no other currency of any kind in the country, and when an (not less Dacca"

barter, indeed, which survived undisturbed in many of the outlying districts up to the early part of the present century. The consistent adherence of the people to this simple medium of exchange, goes far to explain an enigma, recently adverted to,¹ as to the general absence of all specimens of money of high antiquity within certain limits northward of the seaboard, and may serve to reconcile the anomaly of conterminous nationalities appearing in such different degrees of advancement when tried by similar isolated tests of local haughts. For the rest, the arms of Islam clearly brought with them into Bengal what modern civilization deems a fiscal necessity—a scheme of national coinage, and the present enquiry is concerned to determine when and in what form the conquerors applied the theory and practice they themselves had as yet but imperfectly realized.

When Muhammad bin Sam had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb ud din Aibek, while his own court was still held at Ghazni, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of *the* faith beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji, *Sipahsalar* in Oude, in A H 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnauti where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority till his own career was prematurely cut short in A H 602.

Considering the then existing time honoured system of valuation by shells—which would certainly not invite a hasty issue of coin—and Muhammad Bakhtiar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud din, who so far as can be seen, uttered no money in his own name it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional or special,

collected in cowries which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion. —Hamil on a Hindostan London 1800 p 195
J R A S vol i S p 434

medallic mintage—a numismatic *Fatah-námah*, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, designedly avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.

Similar motives may be taken to have prevailed in the north, where the least possible change was made in the established currency of the country, extending, indeed, to a mere substitution of names in the vernacular character on the coin, which was allowed to retain the typical “Bull and Horseman” device of Prithvi Rāja and his predecessors. The pieces themselves, designated from their place of mintage *Dehli-wālas*,¹ were composed of a mixture of silver and copper in intentionally graduated proportions, but of the one fixed weight of thirty-two ratis, or the measure of the old *Purana* of silver of Manu’s day. Progressive modifications were effected in the types and legends of these coins, but no systematic reconstruction of the circulating media took place until the reign of Altamsh; who, however, left the existing currencies undisturbed, as the basis for the introduction of the larger and more valuable and exclusively silver *الدينار* popularly known in after times as the *Tankah*,² a standard which may also be supposed to have followed traditional weights in the contents assigned to it, as the 96 rati-piece modern ideas would identify with the *Tolah* or it may possibly have been originated as a new 100 rati coin, a decimal innovation on the primitive

¹ The name is written *دلی ال* in Kutb ud-din Aibek’s inscription on the mosque at Dehli (Prinsep’s *Essays*, i 327). The *Tāj ul Maāsir* and other native authorities give the word as *دهلیوال*. Hasan Nizāmi, the author of the *Imshād*, writes *دهلیوال* and *دهلیوال*.

(figs 24, 25, 47.)

² Erskine derives this name from the Chagatai Tūrki word, *tang*, “white” (History of India under Baber London, 1851, vol i p 546). Vullers gives a

different and clearly preferable derivation in *تنگ* (fort ex *تنگ* * *تنگ* tenuis, suff. د) Ibn Batutah carefully preserves the orthography as *تنگ*, टङ्क and टङ्क.

Hindu reckoning by fours, a point which remains to be determined by the correct ascertainment of the normal weight of the *rati*, which is still a debated question. My own results, obtained from comparative numismatic data of various ages, point to 175 grains,¹ while General

† In attempting to ascertain the relation of the weights of ancient and modern days, and to follow the changes that time and local custom may have introduced into the static laws of India, the capital point to be determined is the true weight of the *rati*, as it was understood and accepted when the initiatory metric system was in course of formation. Two different elements have hitherto obstructed any satisfactory settlement of the intrinsic measure of this primary unit—the one, the irregularity of the weight of the *gunja* seeds themselves, which vary with localities and other incidental circumstances of growth,* the other, the importance of which has been rather overlooked that the modifications in the higher standards, introduced from time to time by despotic authority, were never accompanied by any rise or fall in the nominal total of *ratis* which

dhārana or *purāṇa*, and we are instructed by his commentator, in a needlessly

was revived in the form of silver coin, and was further retained as a mint standard by his successors, till Shīr Shāh re-modelled the currency about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the same way I have already demonstrated elsewhere,‡ in illustration of an independent question, that a coin retaining with singular fidelity the ponderable ratio of the ancient *purāṇa*, was concurrent with the restored *lādrā* under Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351–1388) and other kings. And to complete the intermediate link, I may cite the fact that when the effects of Greek and Scythian interference had passed away, the 32-*rati* *purāṇa* re-appeared in the Punjab and Northern India, as the silver currency of the local dynasty of SYĀLA and SAMANTA DEVA § and furnished in its style and devices the prototype of the Delhi CHOHAN series of “Bull and Horseman” coins, the *Dakṣiṇā* which were retained, unaltered in weight, by the Muhammadans, in joint circulation with the silver double *Dirhams* of 174 grains of the *rati* system.¶

Extant specimens of Syāla's coins in the British Museum weigh 54.4 grains and upwards.

If this double series of weights extending over an interval of time represented by 24 or 25 centuries and narrowed to an almost identical locality, are found not only to accord with exactitude in themselves but to approach the only rational solution of the given quantities, the case may be taken as proved.

The ancient *purāṇa* hall marked silver pieces range as high as 65 grains, copper coins of *Rīmadata* ¶ are extant of 137.5 grains, and other early coins of

* *Śilādhara*, see *Varāṇ*, 30.

† Sir W. Jones, *As. Res.*, II. 154. “*Rati* = $1\frac{1}{2}$ of a grain.” Prinsep, *L. T.* (180+96), *Jerols*, *Weights of Hindun*, p. 40. Wilson, *Glossary and Misc. Res.*

‡ *Nam. Chron.*, xv., notes, pp. 133, 135, etc.

§ J. A. S. Bengal, iv. 674; J. H. A. S., ix. 177; *Asiatic Antiqua*, p. 428; Prinsep's *Essays*, I. 311.

¶ *N. C.*, xv. 136. Prinsep's *Essays*, I. T., p. 70.

¶ Prinsep's *Essays*, I. § 216, pl. 22. See also

Cunningham adheres to the higher figures of 1.8229 grains¹

Hence—

and this is the weight I propose to assign to the original *ratī*; there may be

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|---|------|---|------|---|
| GOLD .. | { 1 Māsha | = | 5 | „ | 8 75 | „ |
| | { 1 Suvarna | = | 80 | „ | 140 | „ |
| | { 1 Pala or Nishka | = | 320 | „ | 560 | „ |
| | { 1 Dharana | = | 3200 | „ | 5600 | „ |
| COPPER | 1 Kārsha | = | 80 | „ | 140 | „ |
| Subdivisions of Kārsha . . . | { $\frac{1}{4}$ | = | 40 | „ | 70 | „ |
| | { $\frac{1}{8}$ | = | 20 | „ | 35 | „ |
| | { $\frac{1}{16}$ | = | 10 | „ | 17 5 | „ |

—*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol iv, N S p 131, March, 1864

¹ General Cunningham's deductions are founded on the following estimates

—“*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol iv, N S p 131, March, 1864

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Mr N S Maskelyne, of the Mineral Department, British Museum, who, some time ago, entered into an elaborate series of comparisons of Oriental weights, with a view to determine the identity of one of our most celebrated Indian diamonds, has been so obliging as to draw up for me the following memorandum, exhibiting the bearing of an entirely independent set of data upon the question under review the true weight of the Indian *Ratī*. The value of this contribution in itself, and the difficulty of doing justice to it in an abstract, must plead my excuse for printing it *in extenso* in this place —

I shall confine my answer to your question about the *ratī* to the estimate of it as derived from the *Mishkāl*. The other channel of enquiry, that namely of Hindoo metrology and numismatics is too complicated, and so far as I have been able to follow it, too unsatisfactory in its results to justify my urging any

are to be obtained solely from the weights of coins except in the few cases where, as in the coins of Akbar, or of Abd el Malek ben Merwan, we have some literary

However, these silver coins of Altamsh—let their primary static ideal have been based upon a duplication of the dirhams

statements about them. Nor can you get any result from weighing carob beans to determine the carat, or abras seeds to determine the rati. I weighed long ago hundreds of rats that Dr Danbenny lent me with an average of 1.694 troy grains. Sir William Jones found I believe one of 1.318 and Professor Wilson I think another value again. They vary according to the soil and climate they are grown in and the time and atmosphere they have been kept in.

My investigation of the rat originated in a desire to determine whether the diamond now the Queen's was the same that Baber records as having been

can be very little trusted. I can give you my reasons for this assertion if you wish for them.

Bāber in his memoirs says the weight of Humāyūn's diamond was about 8 mshkāl. In his description of Ibadā he gives the following ratios of the weights in use there:—

| | | | |
|--------|---|----------|-----------------|
| 8 rats | = | 1 mūsbah | |
| 32 | = | 4 | = 1 tang (tank) |
| 40 | = | 5 | = 1 mishkal. |
| 96 | = | 12 | = 1 tola |

Jewels and precious stones being estimated by the tang. Furthermore he states 14 tolas = 1 sir 40 sirs = 1 man etc. Thus then the 8 mshkāl would be 320 rats.

Tavernier says the diamond he saw weighed 319½ rats. The Koh-i-Nûr in 1851 (and I believe in Baber's day also) weighed 687.5 grains troy. The theory that it was Alā'eddin's diamond would demand—

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| a mshkāl (8) | weight of | 73 1/2 grains. |
| a tola (32) | " | 176 3/4 |
| a tank (40) | " | 58 3/4 |
| a mīsbah (10) | " | 14 7/8 |
| a rati (30 of 8 to the mīsbah) | " | 1 6 2/3 |
| — (240 of 6 to the mīsbah) | " | 9 5/8 |

Now as to the mshkāl—the Mahommedan writers speak of it as not having altered from the days of the Prophet. Doubtless it has been a pretty permanent

| | |
|---|----------|
| The " of Trjoli | = 73 1/2 |
| In Persian the drim mshkāl = 1/3 of the batman of Chiraz (of 89 1/2 grains) | = 396 |
| The tauril batman and mshkāl = half the above | |
| The mshkāl corresponding to the (1/3) dirham used for gold and silver in Persia | = 4.5 |
| The abbas corresponding to 1 mshkāl Maraden says | = 7 |
| The mode a debased mshkāl of India | = 71 |

Bāber in speaking of the mshkāl, may either mean his own Bokharan mshkāl or as seems more probable the current mshkāl as existing at that time in India.

of Ghazni, or, as is more probable, elaborated out of the elements of ancient Indian Metrology—may be quoted in their

in short, the "Indian or Syrian mīshkāl" of the Mahommadan writers—which was the Greek mīshkāl + 2 kīrats. The modern debased mīshkāl of Bokhara we may leave out of our comparisons. It is surely a degraded weight in a country that has undergone an eclipse.

The old "Greek Dinar" is of course the Byzant, or solidus aureus—the denarius of Byzantium. It was nominally coined 72 to the Roman lb. The Byzantine Roman lb in the British Museum weighs 4995 grains, so the solidus was nominally coined at 69.4 grains. It really issued from the mint at a

which latter gives a probable weight for the dirham as originally coined. (In Makrizi's time the ratio was $\text{dinar} : \text{dirham} = 10 : 7 = 21.75 : 15.22$, or supposing

Portuguese = 3.171

The above value of the mīshkāl accords extremely well with my theory about the diamond.

That the "Greek" is likely, although the Sassanian drachms

Museum, of Ardabir

less than 66.5 grains

Sassanidae the gold coinage was quite exceptional, and was not large enough to have formed the basis of the monetary system of the Caliphs, which was

less than 74 grains

Without entering into the Indian numismatical question, I may remind you of

surviving integrity of weight and design, as having furnished the prototypes of a long line of sequent Dehli mintages, and thus contributing the manifest introductory model of all Bengal coinages.¹

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints,

I am strongly tempted to enter farther into this question of the ponderary systems of India, but I am warned by your own able papers of the difficulties in the path of one who deals only in translations and in the weight of coins.

24th Nov, 1865

¹ There are three varieties of Altamah's silver coinage, all showing more or less the imperfection of the training of the Indian artists in the reproduction of the original prototype of their coinage. The design of these coins were already

Obverse Square area, with double lines, within a circle.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse Square area, with double lines, within a circle

Legend, في عبد الامام المستنصر ناصر المومنين

No 2, Silver Size, viii, weight 168 S. Date, 630 A H

Obverse: Square area, with double lines,

Legend, السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين
ابوالمفتخر التمس السلطان ناصر امر المومنين

Reverse: Circular area.

Legend, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر
امر المومنين

Margin,

صربه جدا الى

Mr Bayley notices the occasional change of the name of the piece to the generic السكه as well as the ignorant substitution of المستنصر ناصر الله for the Khalifa's true title J.A.S.B., 1862, p. 207. Col. Guthrie's coin (Type No 2) discloses a similar error

Legend, في عبد الامام المستنصر ناصر المومنين

Margin,

صربه حدة الفضة

No 2, Silver Size, xlii, weight 163 S. gr.

(Obverse as No 2, but the square area is enclosed in a circle

Reverse: Square area enclosed within a circle identical with the obverse design

though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Delhi die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, and, as the plates will show, like Persian *shikastah*, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins, a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonargaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the present series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (No 22 *infra*). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends, but his own coins struck at the "city"—he would not call it capital—of Lakhnauti, evince the haste and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and still worse, the hand of a local artist, all of which short comings may be forgiven to a monarch who in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultans, mere imitators at first, were original in their later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever recurring *kahmah*, and in

the rate of alloy In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far, representing a sequent eighty years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Delhi coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard so also does it retain a higher degree of purity, the 990 and 996 of silver to the test total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintages, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháh, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstituted honors and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies, while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, Aázam Sháh's officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains. Among other unexpected items for which the aid of modern science may be credited, is the support which the intrinsic contents of the erroneously classed coins of 'Adil Shah under native interpretation, lend to the correctness of the revised attribution of the pieces themselves suggested by the critical terms of their own legends, in the manifest identity of their assay touch with the associate coins of the lower empire of India.

Colonel Guthrie has furnished me with the following data, concerning the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahar hoard — "When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the Mint, two being for special assay, two for the Mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1 000 represents absolute purity) "

DELHI COINS

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | Balban (A. H. 664) | 990 and 996 |
| 2 | Kai Kobád (A. H. 685) | 990 and 996 |
| 3 | Ghás ud-din Tughlak (A. H. 720) | 990 |
| 4 | Adil Sháh [i.e. Ghází Sháh of Bengal A. H. 751] | 989 |

BENGAL COINS

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| 1 | Shams ud din Firáz | 989 |
| 2 | Bahádur Sháh | 988 and 993 |
| 3 | Mubarak Sháh | 987 |
| 4 | Ilías Sháh (1st type) | 989, (2nd) 987, (3rd) 988 |
| 5 | Sháandar Sháh (return lost) | |
| 6 | Aázam Sháh (1st type) | 981 (2nd) 989 (3rd) 962, (4th) 977 (5th) 986 |

these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognised alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of "black Tankahs." Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Báber's mentioning that, in A.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tirkút, a sort of border-land of his kingdom, which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in *Tankah Nukrah*, and the larger remainder in *Tankah Stáh*,¹ an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional estimate piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, constituting the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the conquering Moghul's Indian dominions.

Another important element of all currency questions is the relative rate of exchange of the precious metals *inter se*. And this is a division of the enquiry of peculiar significance at the present moment, when Her Majesty's Government are under pressure by the European interest to introduce gold as a legal tender at a fixed and permanent rate, or, in effect, to supersede the existing silver standard, the single and incontestable measure of value, in which all modern obligations have been contracted, and a metal, whose present market price is, in all human probability, less liable to be affected by

No 84, of 736 A H , p 50, Patbân Sultâns The following are the inscriptions :

Obverse—والله العلى واتم الفقر

Reverse—فى عهد محمد بن تعلق

Margin—بدار الاسلام ستة اربع وثلاثين وسعمائة

over production than that of gold: the bullion value of which latter had already begun to decline in the Bazárs of India, simultaneously with the arrival of the first fruits of Australian mining.

If the contemplated authoritative revolution in the established currency had to be applied to a fully civilized people, there might be less objection to this premature experiment; but to disturb the dealings of an empire, peopled by races of extreme fixity of ideas, to give advantages to the crafty few, to the detriment of the mass of the unlettered population, is scarcely justified by the exigencies of British trade; and India's well-wishers may fairly advance a mild protest against hasty legislation, and claim for a subject and but little understood nationality, some consideration, before the ruling power forces on their unprepared minds the advanced commercial tenets of the cities of London and Liverpool.

The ordinary rate of exchange of silver against gold in Marco Polo's time (1271-91 A.D.),¹ may be inferred to have been eight to one; though exceptional cases are mentioned in localities within the reach of Indian traders, where the ratios of six to one and five to one severally obtained.

Ibn Batutah, in the middle of the fourteenth century,

¹ The Province of KARAKAN. "For money they employ the white porcelain shell found in the sea, and these they also wear as ornaments about their necks. Eighty of the shells are equal in value to a saggio of silver, or two Venetian groats, and eight saggi of good silver to one of pure gold." Chap. xixix.

The Province of KARAKAN. "Gold is found in the rivers, both in small particles and in lumps; and there are also veins of it in the mountains. In consequence of the large quantity of gold they possess, they use a currency of silver. They have silver coins of various sizes, which, however, are not found in this part of the world, but are brought from India." (Ibn Batutah, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 167.)

The Province of KARDANAN. "The currency of this country is gold by

foot of the Yunnan range], whereon, three days in every week, a number of people assemble many of whom come down from the neighbouring mountains, bringing their gold to be exchanged for silver, which the merchants who repair thither from distant countries carry with them for this purpose; and one saggio of gold is given for five of silver." Chap. xliii. *Travels of Marco Polo*, by W. Marsden, London, 1818; and John's Edition, 1851.

when he was, so to say, resident and domesticated in India, reports the relative values of the metals as eight to one.¹

رايت الرزقياع في اسواقها خمسة وعشرين رطلا دهلية بدينار فتي
iv. 10, والدينار الفتي هو ثمانية دراهم ودرهمهم كالدرهم المقرء سواء

"J'ai vu vendre le riz, dans les marchés de ce pays [Bengale], sur le pied de vingt-cinq rithl de Dihly pour un dinâr d'argent: celui ci vaut huit drachmes, *etc.*" (p. 716)

the other silver, and there can be little doubt but that the original design of the text was to specify that one gold piece of a given weight passed *in situ* for eight silver pieces of similar form and of slightly greater bulk. It is possible that the term *Dindr* may in process of time have come to stand for a conventional measure of value, like the "pound sterling," susceptible by common consent of being liquidated in the due equivalent of silver; but this concession need not affect the direct contrast between the *Dinâra* and *Dirhams* so obviously marked in the case in point.

The *Dinâr* is a gold coin of the weight of 100 grains (p. 716) of the edition of 1880.

Tughlak, Emperor of Dehli, had, from his first elevation to the throne, evinced

case, this payment to Ibn Batutah seems to have been made after the Sultan had organised and abandoned that imaginary phase of perfection in the royal art of depreciating the circulating media, by the entire supersession of the precious metals, and following the ideal of a paper currency, the substitution of a copper simulacrum of each and every piece in the

The Emperor Akbar's minister, Abul Fazl, has left an official record of the value of gold in the second half of the sixteenth century, at which period the price was on the rise, so that the mints were issuing gold coin in the relation of one to 94 of silvre. But a remarkable advance must have taken place about this time, as in the second moiety of the seventeenth century, Tavernier¹ found gold exchanging against fourteen times its weight of silver from which point it gradually advanced to one to fifteen a rate it maintained when the East India Company remodelled the coinage in 1833.² Afterwards with prospering times the metal ran up occasionally to fabulous premiums, to fall again ignominiously, when Californian and Australian discoveries made it common in the land.

I revert for the moment to a more formal recapitulation of the computations, which serve to establish the ratios of gold and silver in Akbar's time.

Abul Fazl's figured returns give the following results —

First — Chugal weight in gold Tolah 3 Másha 0, Rati $5\frac{1}{2}$ = 30 Rs of $11\frac{1}{2}$ Máshas each 549 84 $172\ 5 \times 30$
(5175 0) 1 9 4118

Second — Aftabi gold weight T 1, M 2, R. $4\frac{3}{4}$ = 12 Rs
218 90 $172\ 5 \times 12$ (2070 0) 1 9 4563

order of its degree from the *Dadr* to the lowest coin in the realm the values being authoritatively designated on the surface of each. This forced currency held its own more or less successfully from 730 to 733 when it came to a simple and self-developed end. Taking the probable date of this payment as 742-3 A.H. (1548 B.C. p. 4 and vol. iii. p. xxii.) it may be assumed that the 174 (or 176) grains of gold tankab which had heretofore stood at the equitable exchange

¹ Prinsep's *Local Tables* pp. 57-59

Third — *Ilahí*, or *Lál Jaláí*, also *Mufánní*, gold, weight
 π 12, κ $1\frac{1}{2}$ = 10 Rs : 18328 :: $172\ 5 \times 10$ (17250) :
 1::9 1118

3 A.—The larger piece, the *Sihansah*, in value 100
Lál Jaláís, gives an identical return Weight in gold,
 τ 101, μ 9, κ 7 = 1000 Rs : 18328 :: 172,500
 (172 5 \times 100 \times 10):1::9 4118

Fourth — *Adl-Gutkah*, or *Muhar*, also called *Míhrábí*,
 gold, weight 11 *Máshas* = 9 Rs : 165 :: $172\ 5 \times 9$ (1552 5):1
 ::9 10909

4 A.—The higher proportions specified under the piece of
 100 round *Muhars*, produce a similar result Weight in gold,
 τ 91, μ 8 = 900 Rs : 16500 :: 155250 (172 5 \times 100 \times 9)
 :1::9 40

These sums are based upon the ordinary *Tolah* of 180 gr.,
Masha of 15, and *Rati* of 1 875 grs The question of corres-
 ponding values in the English scale need not affect the
 accuracy of comparisons founded upon the conventional
 measure by which both metals were estimated

I have given more prominence to the above calculations
 and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent
 totals afforded by the larger sums now inserted, because the
 obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9 4, has been
 called in question by an official of the Calcutta Mint (a Dr
Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my
 data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclu-
 sions ventures to affirm, that "9 4 to one is a relative value
 of gold to silver, which never could really have existed"¹
 Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights
 and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day,
 and each and all produce returns absolutely identical up to the
 first place of decimals My original estimates were sketched
and published at Delhi, in 1851, where I had access to the best
MSS, to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics,
 and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land
 When reprinting Prinsep's "*Useful Tables*" (London, 1858),
 I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to
 fortify them, had it been needed by the precisely analogous

¹ *Jour As Soc Bengal* 1864 p 517

results obtained by Colonel W Anderson, who had tried Abul Fazl's figures, from a different point of view, and for altogether independent purposes¹ But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 94, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abul Fazl's own statement as translated into English in 1783 when, in concluding a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes and the process 'leaves a remainder of about *one half a tolah* of gold, the value of which is four rupees'² It may be as well that I should add, that some of my totals differ from those to be found in Gladwin's translation of the original Persian text³ I do not recapitulate the several divergencies, but it is necessary to prove the justice of one, at least, of my emendations Gladwin's MSS gave the rupee at $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas* (1 p 34) The more carefully collated Dehli texts showed the real weight to be 115 *mashas*, a static fact of some importance, which is curiously susceptible of proof from Gladwin's own data at page 46 of his Calcutta edition, a sum is given of the refining charges and profits as understood by the mints of those days, wherein 989 tolas, 9 mashas of impure silver is stated to be reduced by 14 r 9 m 1 r in refining, and a further 4 r 10 m 3 r in manipulation, leaving 11641 *mashas* of silver ($989\ 9\ 0 - 14\ 9\ 1 - 4\ 10\ 3 = 11641$) which is officially announced as ordinarily coined into 1012 rupees, ($1012 \times 115 = 11638$) giving, as nearly as may be the essential $11\frac{1}{2}$ *máshas*, which the translated text *should* have preserved in its earlier passages

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agra, in A.D. 1609-11, during the reign of Jahángir, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies "In primis of Seraffins Ecbéri which be ten rupias apiece," to this passage is added in a marginal note, that, "a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold." This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official

¹ U T., vol. ii, p. 32.

² Gladwin i. 44

³ 4to., Calcutta, 1783

⁴ I urchas, Travels folio 1625 26, l. 217

returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar's legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *even* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *muhar*, (No 4 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 *dams*, by raising the weight of the piece to the higher total given under No 3, the gold *slahi* was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 *dams*. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 39 *dams*, in the new currency a value of 40 *dams* was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtlessly achieved higher standard of the metal employed aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The subdivisions of the standard silver Tankah, as well as the relative exchange ratios of silver and copper in their subordinate denominations, claim a passing notice. Though Bengal proper probably remained satisfied with its lower currency of cowries, supplemented by the occasional intervention of copper, for some time after the introduction of gold and silver money, yet as the earliest copper coins of that kingdom must have been based upon and in the first instance, supplied by Delhi mintages the Imperial practice comes properly within the range of the local division of the general enquiry.

It has been seen that Minhaj ul Siráj, in comparing the circulating media of Hindustán and Bengal, speaks of the currency of the former as composed of *Chutals*, a name which is seemingly used by himself and succeeding authors in the generic sense for money, as if these pieces continued to constitute the popular standard both in theory and practice, notwithstanding the introduction of the more imposing *tankahs* of gold and silver. Up to this time it has not been possible satisfactorily to demonstrate the actual value of the coin in question, in some cases indirect evidence would seem to bring its intrinsic worth down to a very low point, while at times, the money calculations for large sums, in which its name

alone is used appear to invest it with a metrical position far beyond the subordinate exchanges of mere bazar traffic

In the details of the "prices current" in the reign of Aláud dīn Muhammad, as well as in the relation of certain monetary re adjustments made by Firuz Sháh III, the name of the *Chital* is constantly associated in the definition of comparative values with another subdivision entitled the *Kánu*, which may now be pronounced with some certainty to have been the $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original *Tankah*, of 175 grains, and $\frac{1}{5}$ of the new silver coin of 140 grains, introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. The temporary forced currency of this Sultan necessitated in itself the positive announcement of the names, and authoritative equivalents of each representative piece, and in this abnormal practice contributes many items towards the elucidation of the quantitative constitution of the real currency of the day, which these copper tokens were designed to replace. In illustration of this point, I insert a woodcut and description of a brass coin, which was put forth to pass for the value of the silver piece of 140 grains to whose official weight it is seemingly suggestively approximated

Brass, weight, 132 grs, A H 731, Common



Obverse—مهرشد تکه پیکاد کانی در روزگار—
Struck (lit sealed),
سده امدهار محمد بن علی
a tankah of fifty kanis in the reign of the ser-
vant, hopeful (of mercy), Muhammad Tughlak.

Reverse—Area, من اطاع السلطان بعد اطاع

الرحمن "He who obeys the king, truly he obeys God" ¹

در تحب کاد دولت آباد سال بر هجده سی یک Margin, At
the capital Daulat ábád, year ? 731

In addition to the 50 *kanis* piece may be quoted extant specimens of this Sultán's forced issues bearing the definitive names of "*hast kanis*" (8 *kánis*)
"Shash *kánis*" (6 *kanis*) and *Do-kanis* (2 *kanis*)



An obverse of the latter is given in the margin.

The reverse has the unadorned name of محمد بن علی

¹ In other examples of the forced currency he exhorts his subjects in more urgent terms to submit to the Almighty as represented in the person of the

Next in order, may be quoted historical evidence of Firúz Sháh's fiscal re-organizations, in the course of which mention is made of pre-existing pieces of 48, 25, 21, 12, 10, 8, and 6 *kānis*, the lowest denomination called by that name; afterwards the narrative goes on to explain that, in addition to the ordinary *Chital* piece already in use, Firúz Sháh originated, for the benefit of the poorer classes of his subjects, subdivisinal $\frac{1}{2}$ *Chital* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *Chital* pieces.

As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enable us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit *larsha*,¹ so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term *kāni*, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán, during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, *kāni* means $\frac{1}{4}$, or one quarter of a sixteenth" (Brown). In Canareso $\frac{1}{4}$ (Reeve), and in Tamil $\frac{1}{6}$ (Winslow). Wilson's Glossary gives "*Kāni*, corruptly, *Cawney*. Tel. Tam. Karn. $\frac{1}{6}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{4}$."²

The term *kāni*, in addition to its preferable meaning of $\frac{1}{4}$, was, as we see, also used for the fraction $\frac{1}{6}$, but its application in the former sense to the ruling integer in the present instance, seems to be conclusively settled by the relative proportions assigned to the modified *tankah* of Muhammad bin Tughlak, when compared with the normal weight of the earlier coin ($: 64 :: 175 : 50 :: 136.718$). -

The method in which the subdivisinal currency was arranged, consisted, as has already been stated, of an admixture of the two metals, silver and copper, in intentionally varying proportions in pieces of identical weight, shape and device; so that the traders in each case had to judge by the eye and hand of the intrinsic value of the coin presented to them. To European notions this system would imply endless doubt and uncertainty, but under the practiced vision and delicate perceptive powers of touch, with which the natives of India are endowed, but little difficulty seems to have been experi-

ruling monarch, and to adopt, in effect, the bad money he covers with texts from the Kurán—the "Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you," and "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man," but "some" are placed over "others"—were unneeded on his coinage of pure metal

¹ Num Chron iv 58, J. A S B xxxii. 206

² There is a coin called a "Do gāni or Doodce," still quoted in the Madras Almanacks

enced; and I myself can testify to the accuracy of the verdicts pronounced by the experienced men of Dehli, whose instinctive estimates were tested repeatedly by absolute assay. I published many of these results, some years ago, in the Numismatic Chronicle,¹ where the curious in these matters may trace many of the gradational pieces of the *Lanis* above enumerated. As some further experiments in reference to the intrinsic values of these coins were made, at my instance, in the Calcutta Mint, I subjoin a table of the authoritative results, which sufficiently confirms the previous less exhaustive assays by the native process.

LIST OF DEHLI COINS,

Composed of Silver and Copper in varying proportions forwarded for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10 June, 1853

| No of Ticket | A. H. | Reference to Numbers of Coins in "Pahán Sultan's " | No of Coins in Parcel. | Weight in Grains. | Dwts. Fine Silver per lb. in each. |
|--------------|-------|--|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | 716 | Mubarak Sháh No 66 | 1 | 53 22 | 6 375 |
| 2 | 726 | Muhammad bin Tughlak No 91 | 1 | 55 15 | 13 200 |
| 3 | 895 | Sikandar Bahlol. No 163 | 1 | 143 438 | 1 900 |
| 4 | 896 | " " | 4-1 | 142 163 | 2 025 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 142 938 | 1 925 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 138 913 | 1 616 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 140 088 | 2 200 |
| 5 | 898 | " " | 1 | 141 000 | 1 5625 |
| 6 | 900 | " " | 2 1 | 140 800 | 2 6000 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 127 600 | 3 0125 |
| 7 | 903 | " " | 1 | 143 100 | 4 650 |
| 8 | 904 | " " | 3-1 | 142 500 | 5 624 |
| " | 907 | " " | 3-1 | 143 250 | 14 5 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 141 150 | 16 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 139 900 | 16 0 |
| 9 | 905 | " " | 1 | 144 500 | 17 5 |
| 10 | 909 | " " | 1 | 141 500 | 15 0 |
| 11 | 910 | " " | 1 | 140 200 | 15 0 |
| 12 | 912 | " " | 2-1 | 142 500 | 12 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 135 500 | 15 0 |
| 13 | 913 | " " | 2-1 | 132 250 | 15 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 140 750 | 16 0 |
| 14 | 914 | " " | 4-1 | 140 000 | 15 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 134 500 | 15 6 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 141 000 | 16 5 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 140 500 | 16 0 |
| 15 | 918 | " " | 4-1 | 138 250 | 10 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 133 250 | 10 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 139 750 | 9 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 125 000 | 8 0 |
| 16 | 919 | " " | 3-1 | 135 250 | 32 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 137 250 | 8 0 |
| " | " | " " | 1 | 137 500 | 8 0 |

¹ Vol. xv 1852, p. 121, et seq

The Institutes of Manu have preserved a record, reproduced in the subjoined table, of the various weights in use, some centuries before Christ,¹ and among other things explain, that the values of gold and copper, were calculated by a different metric scheme, to that applied to silver. A larger number of Ratis went to the Māsha in the former, and the progression of numbers commenced with a five (5×16), while the silver estimates were founded on the simple arithmetic of *fours* (2×16), which constituted so special a characteristic of India's home civilization. Still, the two sets of tables starting from independent bases, were very early assimilated and adapted to each other in the advancing totals, so that the 320 ratis constituting the *ṣaṭamāna* of the quaternary multiplication, is created in the third line by the use of a *ten*, and the quasi exotic scheme corrects its independent elements by multiplying by *four*, and produces a similar total in the contents of the *Pala* or *Nishka*. The second lines of the tables are severally filled in with the aggregate numbers, 32 and 80, and as the duplication of the former, or $6\frac{1}{2}$, has

¹ Manu, viii 131—"Those names of copper, silver, and gold (weights) which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain 132—The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a *trasarenu* 133—Light of those *trasarenu*s are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed (*hishā*), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard seed (*rājasarashapa*), and three of these last to a white mustard-seed (*gaurasarsashapa*) 134—Six white mustard seeds are equal to a middle sized barley corn (*yara*), three such barley corns to one *kṛshnala* [*raktika*], five *kṛshnalas* of gold are one *māsha*, and sixteen such *māshas* one *suvarna* 135—Four *suvarnas* make a *pala*, ten *palas* a *dharana*, but two *kṛshnalas* weighed together are considered as one silver *māshaka*. 136.—Sixteen of those *māshakas* are a silver *dharana* or *purāna*, but a copper *ādṛsha* is known to be a *pana* or *karaṣṭapa* 137—Ten *dharanas* of silver are known by the name of a *ṣaṭamāna*, and the weight of four *suvarnas* has also the appellation of a *nishka*" These statements may be tabulated thus as the

ANCIENT INDIAN SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS

SILVER

2 ratis = 1 māsha

32 " = 16 " = { 1 dharana,
or purāna

320 " = 160 " = 10 " 1 ṣaṭamāna

GOLD

5 ratis = 1 māsha

80 " = 16 " = 1 suvarna

320 " = 64 " = 4 " = { 1 pala, or
nishka,

3200 " = 640 " = 40 " = 10 " 1 dharana.

COPPER

80 ratis = 1 kṛshṭapa

been seen to do duty in the one case, the probability of the use of the 160 naturally suggests itself in connexion with the theoretical organization of the copper coinage

In proceeding to test the relations of the minor and subordinate currencies, the cardinal point to be determined is, the exchangeable value of copper as against silver. It has been affirmed by Colebrooke,¹ that the ratio stood in Manu's time at 64 to 1—accepting the correctness of this estimate, which has, I believe, remained unchallenged, and supposing the rate to have remained practically but little affected up to the Muhammadan conquest, the 175 grains of *silver* of Altamsh's new coinage, would be equivalent in metallic value to 11,200 grains of *copper*. The ancient copper *karshapana* is recognised and defined as 80 *ratis* in weight, so that under the above conditions, and calculating the *rati* at 175 grains, each *kārshapana* was equal to 140 grains and eighty of these, under the same calculations, give a return of 11,200 grains. Without at present advancing any more definite proposition, or quoting dubious coincidences, it may be as well to test these preliminary results by the Numismatic data Firuz Sháh's Mints have left as an heritage behind him. Among the incidents quoted regarding that monarch's monetary innovations, he is stated to have introduced, for the first time, *half* and *quarter* Chitais. On the occasion of a very elaborate revision of my monograph on the Pathan Sultáns of Dehli, while residing under the very shadow of so many of their memorial edifices, I acquired and described, among others, two specimens of the money of this king, which seemed to be closely identifiable with his Utopian productions of new and infinitesimal subdivisions of the leading copper coinage, in his expressed desire of securing for the poorest of the poor, the fractional change they might be entitled to in the most limited purchases.² These coins responded singularly in their mutual proportions, and contributed in the form of once

¹ As. Res. v 95

² Chame-i-Sikj in his work entitled the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Sháhi*, gives the following incidents regarding Firuz Sháh's coinages:—

شرح بیان احوال سکه مهرشش کای سلسلہ سلطان مرورشاه د

current money, definitive weights in copper amounting severally to 315 and 17·8 grains, from which a very low estimate was deduced of 318 and 17·4, as a normal official standard. If the 318 grain of the first of these be multiplied by 160, it will give a return of 55680 grains, and accepting this trial piece, conditionally, as L'irúz's novel



† Chital of Firds

half-Chital,¹ it will be seen to furnish a general total of 11,136 grains for the copper equivalent of the 175 grains of silver contained in the old Tankah, and confirms the range of the Chital at 69·6 grains, or only ·4 short of the full contents tradition would assign it, as the unchanged *half kārshāpana* of primitive ages.² To pass to the opposite extreme for a test of the copper exchange rate, it is found that when Shīr Shāh reorganised the northern coinage of Hindustān, by the lights of

طور عظمت و دور مکت حویش چوں ملاطین اهل گیتی سکا
 بچندین نوع پدید آورد چنانچه زر تنگه و نقره و سکه چیل و هشت
 کایه و مهر بست و پنجکایه و بست و چهار کایه و دوازده کایه و ده کایه و
 دشتکایه و ششکایه و معریک حیتل چوں فرور شاه بچندین احساس
 بی قیاس مبروصع گردانید بعده در دل مبارک دالام حضرت حق
 تبارک تعالیٰ گذرانید اگر بچاره فقران ار اهل نارار چیری
 خرید کند و ار حمله مال بم حیتل و یا دایکی نای ماند آن
 دوکاندار دایکه خود ندارد اگر این راه گداری آن نای بر او بگذار
 صایع رود اگر اراں دوکاندار طلب کند چوں این معریست ار
 کما چه دهد نای او دهد برین و حوه مساں نایع و مشتری مقاتل
 این حالت بتلویل کشد سلطان فرور شاه فرمان فرمود که مهر
 بم حیتل که اراں ده گوید و مهر دایک حیتل که اراں بکه گوید
 وضع کند تا عرض فقرا و مساکین حاصل شود

independent use of the name for the purposes of account a confusion which perchance may have arisen from the traditional permanency of the term itself, which

his southern experience, and swept away all dubious combinations of metals, reducing the copper standard to its severe chemical element; his Mint statistics show that the 178 grains of silver, constituting his revised Tankah, exchanged against 40 *dáms*, or quadrupled chitals of copper, of an ascertained weight of 323·5 grains each, producing in all a total of 12,940 grains of the latter metal, as the equivalent of 178 grains of silver, or in the ratio of 72·69 to 1; though, even in the altered weights and modified proportions, still retaining inherent traces of the old scheme of *fours*, in the half *dám* of 80, and the quarter *dám* of 160 to the new "Rupee."

again there seems to have been some direct association between *Chitals* and *Lonis*, as General Cunningham has published a coin which he as yet has only partially deciphered, bearing the word چلتہ on the one side, and نکائی [نکائی] on the other J A S B, 1862, p 425

I have received from Mr C P Brown the following note in reply to my queries as to the probable derivation of the word Chital —

"I have been considering the inquiry you make regarding *chital* چیتل. You probably are aware that it is mentioned in the *Ayin i Akbari*, in the chapter on coins. There it evidently is an ideal money, like the farthing. You believe it may be connected with *chale tol* چلتے تول, but I rather judge it to be merely the Sanskrit *chitra* चित्र meaning 'odd' as a species, or as an odd sum, a fraction, the smallest coins in copper, which in Marata and Dakhn are called *Khurda* خوردا (see Wilson's Glossary p 238), and in America *bits*, or a fraction even of these, which in the bazar are often represented or paid in a few pinches of grain. As the Sanskrit month *Chaitra* is in Bengali *Chait*, and the *Chitra-durgam*, or 'odd coloured bull,' is in Dakhn called چیتل درگت *Chitt's droog*, I think this may be the true derivation. The *cowrie*, *cowry*, is not mentioned in the *Ayin i Akbari*, and probably was not yet introduced into India. We still call the smallest fractions 'grains,' and that which is indefinite would be *chitra*, or, according to the Musulmáns pronunciation, *cheetul*. There is also a form of it,

It remains to discover upon what principles the new silver coinage of Altamsh was based. That copper was the ruling standard by which the relative values of the more precious metals were determined, there can scarcely be a doubt. The estimate by Panas of the ancient Law giver, the constant reckoning by Chittals of the early Muhammadan intruders, down to the revenue assessments of Akbar, all of which were calculated in copper coin, sufficiently establish the permanency of the local custom, and the intrinsic contents of Altamsh's *Sikkah* or *السكة* of 174 or 175 grains, must primarily have been regulated by the silver equivalent of a given number of Chittals. Had the old silver *Puranas* been still in vogue, the new coin might have been supposed to have been based upon their weights and values, three of which *Puranas* would have answered to an approximate total of 96 *ratis*, but although the weight of the old coin had been preserved in the more modern *Dehli talas*, the metallic value of the current pieces had been so reduced, that from 16 to 24 would probably have been required to meet the exchange against the original silver *Tankah*, on the other hand, although the number of 96 *ratis* does not occur in the ancient tables, the combination of the inconvenient number of *three Puranas* into one piece, is by no means opposed to Vedic ideas, and there can be no question but that the traditional 96 *ratis*, of whatever origination is constant in the modern *tolah*, but, as I have said before the question whether the new coin was designed to constitute an even *one hundred rati* piece, which, in process of time, by wear or intentional lowering of standard weights came to settle down to the 96 *rati tolak*, remains to be proved by the determination of the decimals in troy grains which ought to be assigned to the normal *rati*.

I now proceed to notice the historical bearings of the coins of the Bengal series.

Any general revision of a special subject coincident with the discovery of an unusually large amount of new illustrative materials, owes a first tribute to previous commentators—whose range of identification may chance to have been circumscribed by more limited archaeological data the application

Minháj-ul-Siráj, Juzjáni, and the "Travels of Ibn Batutah," the former of whom accompanied Tughán Khán to Lakhnauti, in A.H. 640,¹ where he resided for about two years. The Arab from Tangiers,² on his way round to China, as ambassador on the part of Muhammad bin Tughlak, found himself in Eastern Bengal at the inconvenient moment when Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárák was in a state of undisguised revolt against the emperor, to whom they jointly owed allegiance; but this did not interfere with his practical spirit of enquiry, or his placing on record a most graphic description of the existing civilization and politics of the kingdom, and further compiling a singularly fresh and independent account (derived clearly from *titd roce* statements) of the immediately preceding dynastic changes to which the province had been subjected. So that, in effect, Ibn Batutah, with his merely incidental observations, has done more for the elucidation of the obscurities of the indigenous history of the period represented by the earlier coins of the Kooch Bahár hoard than all the native authors combined, to whose writings we at present have access.

The merits of these authors may or may not appear upon

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more or less personally conversant, have alone been reproduced. The usual Oriental commencement with the history of the world, the rise of Muham-

the surface in the subsequent pages, as it is only in doubtful or difficult cases that their aid may chance to be invoked, but for the obscure series of the first Governors of Bengal, the one stands alone, and for the space of time intervening between the provincial obscurity of Násir ud-din Mahmud, the unambitious son of Balban, to the revival of public interest in Bengal, consequent upon the subjection and capture of a rebel vassal by Ghias-ud-din Tughlak Shah, the chance traveller describes more effectively the political mutations and varying monarchical successions than the professed historiographers treating exclusively of the annals of their own land.

The following list of Local Governors has been compiled, the early portion from the precise statements of Minhaj ul Siraj, the latter part from the casual notices of Bengal, to be found in Zia ul Barin, who professed to continue the history of India from the latest date reached by the former author, or from A.H. 698 to 703, being a period of 93 years, covering the reigns of eleven kings. The last named work was finally completed in A.H. 706.

The arrangement of the names and the dates of accession of the chiefs will be found to depart occasionally from the details given by Stewart,¹ in his excellent History of Bengal, but I have designedly sought to draw my materials independently from the original authorities, whom he was perhaps in a less favourable position for consulting than the student of the present day.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

| ACCESSION. A.H. | NAMES OF GOVERNORS. | REMARKS. |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 600 | 1 محمد حصار خلجي | First Mahomedan governor of Bengal. Killed at the battle of Ballant. |
| 602 | 2 سراج الدین محمد شرا خلجي | Successor to the local government after the death of Mahomed Ballant. |

¹ The History of Bengal, by Charles Stewart. London, 1812. &c.

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—continued

| ACCESSION, A. H. | NAMES OF GOVERNORS. | REMARKS. |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 605 | 3. علاء الدين علي مردان خلجي | Nominated to the government by Kutb-ud-din, on whose decease in A. H. 607, he assumes independence. ¹ |
| 608 | 4. حسام الدين عوض خلجي (سلطان غياث الدين) | Commandant at Deokôt, establishes his power and assumes royal honors. He submits to Altamsh in A. H. 622, but almost immediately commences an active revolt, which is put an end to in his capture by Nâsir-ud-din Mahmûd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in A. H. 624. |
| 621 | 5. ناصر الدين محمود بن سلطان التمس | Nâsir-ud-din had been appointed by his father Governor of Oudh, in A. H. 623, from whence he advanced against Ilâsâm-ud-din in 624, and recovered the kingdom of Bengal, where he remained as subking till his death early in 626. |
| 627 | 6. علاء الدين جاني | After temporary disturbances in the province, Altamsh, having restored order in A. H. 627, designated Alâ-ud-din Jânî to the charge of Bengal. |
| | 7. سيف الدين ايكث يعان ت | Nominated to Bengal on the dismissal of Alâ-ud-din Jânî (date not given). Dies in 631 A. H. |

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Indi

Judges, and Governors of Provinces The following names of the قضاة or

Under Altamsh, A. H. 607-633

ملک لکھوتی ملک اختصار الدین محمد برادرزادہ

Under Nâsir ud-din Mahmûd, A. H. 644-654

الملك الكبير عز الدين طغرل طغانخان ملک لکھوتی

الملك الكبير تمرخان نیران ملک اوده و لکھوتی

الملك الكبير جلال الدين خلج خان ملک جاني ملک لکھوتی و کرہ

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL—continued.

| ACCESS BY A. H. | NAMES OF GOVERNORS | REMARKS. |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| 631 | 8 عزالدين طغرل طغان حان | Pledges his allegiance to Fakhār on her elevation in A. H. 634, continues in the government till 642 A. H., when he surrenders the kingdom to No 9 (Minhāj ul-Sirāj), the historian, was at his court at this latter period. |
| 642 | 9 قمرالدين تمرحان قمران | Obtains possession of Lakṣnauṭi on the 6th Zūl Ḥiṣṣ, A. H. 642—dies in 644 |
| | 10 احتشام الدين پوربك طغرل حان | Dates uncertain First appointed during the reign of Nāṣir ud-dīn Mahmūd of Dehli. He seems to have been a powerful ruler and a daring commander, and finally met his death in his retreat from an over venturesome expedition into Kāmruṭ. He had previously assumed independence under the title سلطان معيث الدين |
| 656 | 11 حلال الدين مسعود ملك حابي | Appointed in A. H. 656 (فتح حان) subsequently in temporary possession |
| 657 | 12 عزالدين بلش اورنگي | Recognised, on receipt of his tributary presents at head quarters, in the early part of A. H. 657 |
| 657 | 13 تاج الدين ارسلان حان ستحر حوارومي | Obtains a momentary advantage over No 12 in his absence from his capital, eventually taken prisoner and superseded by No 12 |
| 659 | 14 (محمد ارسلان حان) تتر حان | Son of No 12: On the accession of Balban in A. H. 664 he forwards elephants and tribute to Dehli. |
| 676? | 15 معيث الدين طغرل | Appointed by Balban.* He afterwards asserts his independence, and assumes the title of سلطان معيث الدين. Balban sends armies against him without success, and at last proceeds in person to Bengal. Finally, Toghrāl is surprised and killed |
| 681 | 16 ناصرالدين تغرا حان محمد | Second son of Balban installed with royal honors |

* Zia-ı Barni in one place, page 53, calls him تتر حان پسر ارسلان حان and again at page 66, محمد ارسلان حان که اورا تتر حان گفتندي.

* Zia-ı Barni, pp 82-92

As I have such frequent occasion to quote the names of the Kings of the Imperial Dynasty of Dehli, I annex for facility of reference a full list of these Sovereigns.

LIST OF THE PATHAN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.
(DEHLI)

| DATE OF ACCESSION A H | NO | NAMES OF SULTANS |
|-----------------------------|----|--|
| 589 | 1 | Mūiz-ud dīn Muhammad bin Sām (1st Dynasty). |
| 602 | 2 | Kutb-ud-dīn Aibek. |
| 607 | 3 | Arām Shāh |
| 607 | 4 | Shams-ud dīn Altamsh |
| 633 | 5 | Rukn-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh I |
| 674 | 6 | Sultān Raziyah. |
| 637 | 7 | Mūiz-ud dīn Bahrām Shāh |
| 639 | 8 | Alā-ud-dīn Masūd Shāh |
| 644 | 9 | Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd |
| 664 | 10 | Ghiās-ud dīn Balban |
| 685 | 11 | Mūiz-ud-dīn Kaikubād |
| 688 | 12 | Jalāl-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh II, <i>Khalji</i> (2nd Dynasty). |
| 695 | 13 | Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm |
| 695 | 14 | Alā ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh |
| 715 | 15 | Shahāb-ud-dīn Umar |
| 716 | 16 | Kutb ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh I |
| 720 | 17 | Nāsir-ud dīn Khusrū |
| 720 | 18 | Ghiās-ud dīn Tughlak Shāh (3rd Dynasty) |
| 725 | 19 | Muhammad bin Tughlak |
| 752 | 20 | Firūz Shāh III, <i>bin Salar Rajah</i> . |
| 790 | 21 | Tughlak Shāh II |
| 791 | 22 | Abūbakr Shāh |
| 793 | 23 | Muhammad Shāh bin Firūz Shāh |
| 795 | 24 | Sikandar Shāh |
| 795 | 25 | Mahmūd Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh (Timūr, 800) |
| 797 | 26 | Nusrat Shāh, <i>Interregnum</i> , Mahmūd restored, 802 |
| 815 | 27 | Daulat Khān Lodī |
| 817 | 28 | Khizr Khān <i>Syud</i> (4th Dynasty) |
| 824 | 29 | Mūiz ud dīn Mubārak Shāh II |
| 839 | 30 | Muhammad Shāh bin Farid Shāh |
| 849 | 31 | *Adām Shāh |
| 851 | 32 | Bahlōl Lodī (5th Dynasty) |
| 891 | 33 | Sikandar bin Bahlōl |
| 923 | 34 | Ibrāhīm bin Sikandar (Dāber, 930 A H) |
| 937 | 35 | Muhammad Humāyūn, <i>Mughul</i> |
| 946 | 36 | Farid ud dīn Shīr Shāh, <i>Afghān</i> |
| 952 | 37 | Islām Shāh |
| 950 | 38 | Muhammad 'Adil Shāh |
| 961 | 39 | Ibrāhīm Sār |
| 962 | 40 | Sikandar Shāh (Humāyūn, 962 A H) |

The unenlivened Chronicles of the Local Governors of Bengal enter upon a more interesting phase, in the nomination of Násir ud dín Mahmud, the son of the Emperor Balban, who subsequently came to prefer the easy dignity of Viceroy, in the more even climate of the south, in derogation of his birth right's higher honours, and the attendant dangers of Imperialism at Dehli. One of the most touching chapters of Indian history is contributed by the incidents of this monarch's meeting with his own arrogant son, Muiz ud dín Kaikubad, who had succeeded to the superior dignities abjured by the father.¹ They then met as nominal Vassal and Suzerain, but little unequal in power, and each occupying independent and preparedly hostile camps, on the ordinary route between their respective capitals. Oriental etiquette, and more reasonable distrust, for a time, delayed the interview, in which at last, nature was destined to re-assert its laws, and to reconcile even conflicting royal interests by subduing, for the moment, the coarse vices of the son in the presence of the tempered virtues of the father. Repeated amicable conferences however, merely resulted in each returning on his way, with but little change in the relative political position of either, and the comparatively obscure repose of Násir ud dín Mahmud remained undisturbed, while other successors filled his son's throne at Dehli. The more immediate question bearing upon the attribution of the earliest coins in the Kooch Bahur treasure is exactly how long did Násir ud dín continue to live and reign. Zia i Barni,² and those who follow his all digested history, affirm that he retained his provincial kingship till 699 A H, when he divested himself of all symbols of royalty in the mere dread of the confessedly overwhelming power of Ala ud dín Muhammad Sháh, to be however reinstated by that Sultán, and, finally, it is asserted that Násir ud dín was still in existence, and once again reinvested with the full insignia of a king by Tughlak Sháh, in A H 724.

Zia i Barni, p 142. Ibn Batutah. *loc. cit.* p 178. Lee's Translation p 117 and *برای السعدی* of Amir Khosrú, *Dehli* &c.

¹ Printed edition, p 431. Badami MS ; Ferishtah (Friggs) p 406.

"more subservient to the Court of Dehli" It is highly improbable, had Nasir-ud-din been living at the epoch in question, that a grandson of his should have been selected for such a charge to the supercession of his own father, Shams-ud-din, or in priority to the son of that father, Shahab-ud-din, who was the elder or perhaps better-born brother of Bahadur, each of whom, Ibn Batutah certifies, in turn succeeded to royal honours in the old capital of Bengal

Having completed this simple outline of the historical data, I now proceed to describe the coins in their due order, first on the list in priority of time is a piece which I can only doubtfully assign to Bengal, and whose individual appropriation, moreover, must remain to a certain extent inconclusive. The coin itself will be seen to bear the hereditary name of the first Moslem Conqueror of India, *Mahmud* of Ghazni, and the oft revived title of the founder of the dynasty, *Nasir-ud-din* Subuktigin, a conjunction of royal designations already seen to have been applied to a succession of Pathan princes, whose intitulation followed antecedent conventionalisms

Nasir ud din Mahmud Sháh

No 1

Silver Size, VIII Weight, 163 1 grs Unique, *British Museum*

Obv

Rev

السَّلْطَانُ الْأَعْمَ
نَاصِرُ الدِّينِ وَالْمَدِينِ
أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ مُحَمَّدُ
شَاهُ بْنُ سُلْطَانَ

مِي عَبْدُ الْإِيمَانِ
الْمُسْتَعْتَرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرُ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لِلَّهِ

Margin, illegible



The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of *two* individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the like name and title on the decease of his brother, in 626 A H¹. The citation of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mostansir billah," on the reverse, limits the final period of the issue of the coin, not exactly to the 5th month of the year A H 610 when that Pontiff died, but with clear precision to A H 611, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the Mintages of the capital of Hindustan².

This younger son was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Delhi, in 614 A H, after the intervening reigns of Rukn ud din Firuz Sháh, Riziah, Muiz ud din Bahrám Sháh, and Alá ud din Mas'ud Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years, posterior to the death of Altamsh. The second Mahmud must, under these conditions have been but of tender years, and though at this conjuncture promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, not in any position to exercise authority in his own person, and less likely to have had medallie tribute paid to him by his father, should such have been the origin of the exceptional specimen under review. To the first born Násir ud din Mahmud, no such objections apply, he was very early invested by his sire, with the administration of the important government of Hansi, and in 623 A H, advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which *quasi* frontier, he was called upon to proceed against Hisám ud din Avaz, (No 4 in the list of Governors, *supra*) who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here his arms were fortuitously but not the less effectually, successful so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella and its attendant dignities³ what-

سلطان اسلام ناصر الدین محمود حمایقه وارث اسم و لقب او است¹
 Tabakát Násiri p 181 و نام پسر منیر مخصوص گرد آمده p 201

² Fathán Sultáns of Delhi coin No 33 p 2^o

³ His title usually limited by Mubáj ul Suráj to ملك pp 177 181 201

"more subservient to the Court of Dehli." It is highly improbable, had Nasir ud din been living at the epoch in question, that a grandson of his should have been selected for such a charge to the supercession of his own father, Shams ud din, or in priority to the son of that father, Shaháb-ud din who was the elder or perhaps better-born brother of Bahadur, each of whom, Ibn Batutah certifies in turn succeeded to royal honours in the old capital of Bengal

Having completed this simple outline of the historical data, I now proceed to describe the coins in their due order, first on the list in priority of time is a piece which I can only doubtfully assign to Bengal, and whose individual appropriation moreover, must remain to a certain extent inconclusive. The coin itself will be seen to bear the hereditary name of the first Moslem Conqueror of India, *Mahmud* of Ghazni, and the oft revived title of the founder of the dynasty, *Nasir-ud din* Subuktigin a conjunction of royal designations already seen to have been applied to a succession of Pathán princes, whose intitulation followed antecedent conventionalisms

Nasir ud-din Mahmud Sháh

No 1

Silver Size viii Weight, 163 1 grs Unique, *British Museum*
 OBY REV

السلطان الأعظم
 ناصر الدنيا والدين
 أبو المطهر محمود
 شاه بن سلطان

بى عبد الامام
 المستصر بالله امر
 المؤمنين لله

Margin, illegible



pieces, in silver, were indeterminate in their design and legends, as well as utterly barbarous in their graphic execution.

Had the coin under review followed the usual phraseology and palæography of the Imperial Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd's Mint legends, it might have been imagined that an ancient and obsolete reverse had been by hazard associated with a new obverse. But the obverse inscription in the present instance differs from the later Dehli nomenclature in the addition of the word *Sháh* after the name of *Mahmúd*,¹ and contrasts as singularly in the forms of the letters, and the insertion of the short vowels with the more deferred issues, as it, on the other hand, closely identifies itself in these marked peculiarities with the initial dies of Altamsh and the closely sequent coinages of Riziah, two of which latter are now known to be the produce of the Lakhnauti Mint.

RIZIAH

The earliest coins that can be definitely attributed to a Bengal mint, are those of the celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Riziah, the daughter of Altamsh. The ministers at her father's court were scandalized at the preference it was proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his selection, alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under the unusual advantages of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Moslem households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the leading and independently-domiciled wife. After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz, extending over

¹ So, in written history, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, سلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين محمود بن السلطان
(pp. 9 177 178 201)

ever the exact measure of these may have been. Under such triumphant coincidences, it is possible that the universal favourite, the still loyal heir-apparent, may have placed his own name on the coinage, without designed offence, especially as at this time Moslem Mints were only beginning to adapt themselves to their early naturalization on Indian soil, and when the conqueror's camps carried with them the simple machinery, and equally ready adepts, for converting bullion plunder on the instant into the official money of a general, or his liege sovereign. Altamsh's own circulating media were only in process of crude development at this period, and had scarcely risen superior to the purely Hindu currencies it had served the purpose of his predecessors to leave virtually intact: his own strange *Turki* name,¹ and that of many of his successors, continued to figure in the *Nagari* letters of the subject races on the surfaces of the mixed silver and copper coins of indigenous origin, at times commemorative of imperfectly achieved conquests, and the limited ascendancy implied in the retention of the joint names of the conqueror and the momentarily subject monarch,² while the Sultán's own trial-

but on one occasion **سلطان** crops out incidentally in the Court list where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated, p. 178

¹ This name I have, as a general rule, retained in the form accepted as the

pronunciation is concerned, by the Hindi correlative version of **लितितामिश** (Pathán Sultáns, Coin No. 14). The inscription on the Kera Mirán, at Delhi, has **ایلتمش**, which accords with the Arabic numismatic rendering on the reverses of the Hindi Coins now cited.

See also *Tāj-ul-Makarr*, *Altamsh*. *Wasál*, *Altamsh*, and at times **اتلمش**
Badauni, *Altamsh*

Lilhot's *Historians of India*, p. 111

² See coins of *Chakar deva*

Okera Bull. Legend **चसावरी श्री ममसोरनदिवि**

Erera. Horseman Legend **श्री चाहद देव**

—Pathán Sultáns, No. 15, *Asiana Antiqua*, pl. xix. 16. 21, 26. *Principes Emper.*
r. 32, pl. xxv. 31, *Monkshaj-naksh*, pp. 213, 210, *Toda's Laysman*, li. 451;
and J. A. S. Bengal, 1863, p. 126

BENGAL COINS

FLI



Osr.

Rev.

السلطان الاعظم
جلالة الدنيا والدين
ملكه ابنت الشمس السلطان
مبرة امير المؤمنين

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المؤمنين

Reverse Margin, * * هذا للعبة للكويتي مة * *

(See also a similar coin from the Laknauti Mint, Plate i, fig. 27, page 19. Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán¹

¹ It would seem from the orthography adopted in this earliest record of the name of *Laknauti* (لكوتى) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lakshmanavati* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Lachhman* (لچمن) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لكيتوي, in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coin No 3, etc.). Minháj ul Siráj relates its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Audeah by Muhammad Bakhtiar in the following terms:

چون محمد بختيار آن مملكت را حاط كرد شهر بوديد را حراف
نگذاشت و بر موسى كه لكيتوي است دارالملكت ساخت

Printed edit p 161 The same author at p 162 gives a full account of the remarkable size, progress, and general topography of the city as existing in 611 A.P.

Dr

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Dr

derived from: محوری. He writes و بختيار معاند و نكخانهای

كنارها ويران ساخته مساجد و خوانق و مدارس كرد و دارالملكت

نام خويش تعمير فرمود كه كور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection

of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars it reception, as does the caustic alternative of كور = "grave," which the often deserted site, under the

speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned, for it

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p 6

Dr

of

Ga

" "

OEV.

REV.

السلطان الأعظم
جلالة الدنيا والديس
ملكه است الشمس السلطان
مجرة امير المؤمنين

في عهد الامام
المستنصر امير
المؤمنين

Reverse Margin, * * هذا المنة للكويتي سنة * *

(See also a similar coin from the Lakhnauti Mint, Plate i, fig 27, page 19 Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústan¹

¹ It would seem from the orthography adopted in this earliest record of the name of Lakhnauti (لكوتى) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of *Lalshmanavati* (लक्ष्मणवती), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial *Lakhman* (لخميس) by the addition of an *h* after the *k*, as لكسوتى, in which form it appears under the first local Sultáns (coin No 2, etc.). Minbáj ul Siráj relates its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtiar in the following terms

چون محمد مختيار آن مملكت را سايط كرد شعر بود يذرا حراف
بگداشت و بر موضعى كه لكسوتى است دارالملكت ساخت

Printed edit p 151 The same author at p 162 gives a full account of the remarkable size, progress and general topography of the city as existing in Gil

na

B

derived from محمدي. He writes و بنخابايي معاهد و بنخابايي معاهد و بنخابايي معاهد
كفارا ويران ساخت مساجد و حواشي و مدارس كرد و دارالملكت
سليم تحویش تعمیر فرمود كه كور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection
of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars it reception, as does
the caustic alternative of گور = "grave," which the often deserted site, under the
speedy action of water and some other cause, had become.

for

cen

R.

I—RUKN UD DYN KAI KAUS.

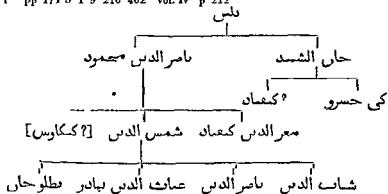
The full and satisfactory identification of the king who ruled under the designation of Kai Kâus has yet to be accomplished. Rajendra lâl Mitra has suggested a notion that Nâsir ud din Mahmud, the son of Balban, so often mentioned in this article, sought, as local ruler of Bengal "to continue his allegiance to his grandson Kaimurs [momentarily king of Dehli] even after his deposition, and possibly after his death, ¹ by retaining his name on the public money. I should be disposed to seek a less complicated explanation of the numismatic evidences. Kai Kâus' date tested by the examples of his mintages in the Kooch Bahar hoard is limited in range of time, to five years (691-695 A H),² a latitude might be taken beyond the ascertained units which are somewhat indeterminate in their tracings and have equally suffered from abrasion on the exposed margins of the coins, but the *sixty* and the *six hundred* can scarcely be contested. If we examine the political state of India at this period we find that Hindustan was abnormally quiet under the feeble rule of Jalâl ud-din Firuz (687-695 A H). Ala ud din's conquests in the Dakkhin could have but little affected Bengal so that any changes that may have taken place in the latter kingdom were probably due to successional or revolutionary causes arising within its own limits. We can scarcely build up a theory of an access of vigour and assumption of independence by Nâsir ud din himself, nor is it probable that, in such a case, he would have changed both his title and his name. Besides the array of titles on the coins in the triple succession of *Sultans* is altogether inconsistent with his actual origin. Though he was the son of one emperor of Dehli and the father of another, he could scarcely ignore the rise of the former from a state of slavery, or conceal the fact that Balban himself never pretended to have been the offspring of a king. The two alternatives remain of either supposing

¹ Jour. As. Soc. Ben- 1861 p. 508

² Rajendra lâl says, "the units *one* and *three* are perfectly clear. Col. Guthrie's three coins are imperfect in the word for the ten. I observe traces of a *four* on two specimens and I read, with some certainty 695 on another."

that Násir ud din died before 691 A H, a question discussed elsewhere or to conclude that his son Rukn ud din Kai Káus temporarily assumed kingship during the lifetime of his father,¹ and that his limited reign and local obscurity saved his memory from the comments of history. I fully endorse Rajendra lál's suggestion that Kai Káus would have been likely to be selected as a name for one of a family who took so many of their designations from Persian heroic ages and the elaborate intitulation adopted by that prince, on his coins, of the "Son and grandson of a Sultan" favours such an identification.² It will be seen that although the opening terms of his obverse legends follow the conventional and unvarying mint phraseology in the use of السلطان *the* (reigning) Sultán, yet after his own proper name he styles himself merely سلطان and seemingly desired to strengthen his position by the insertion of the regal titles of his father and grandfather though there is so far room for questioning this supposition in the fact that the father had fallen short of supreme power and was only doubtfully authorized to call himself Sultán while in strictness the Imperial *Dalban* should have been designated *the Sultan* (past regnant), but on the other

The following is the genealogical tree according to Ibn Batutah. See vol. 1 pp 171 5 1 9 210 462 vol. xv p 212



¹ The name of the son of Kai Kobád, who was elevated to the throne of Dehli on the death of his father is variously given by Oriental writers as Shams ud-din ككاوس and كعباد. Budáuní and the *Mirát ul Alam* (MS) give Ka Káus but the majority of authors prefer the *Kasim* or Zia Barn does not state the name of the boy but mentions a son of Allamsh in the previous generation as having been called Ka omu (printed ed p 126)

hand, Násir-ud-dín had been so long virtually a king in the south, that the complimentary use of the term was quite within heraldic licence; and it is to be remarked, that a similar omission of the supreme prefix occurs in *Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh's* coin (No. 1), which, if correctly attributed, would prove the legitimacy¹ of the optional use of one or the other form.

These are avowedly mere speculations; but when it is considered how much attention was paid in India, in those days, to every varying shade and degree of honorary rank, how much importance was attached to even the colours of official umbrellas,² and other, to us, minor observances, it cannot but be felt that these subordinate indications may chance to prove of material aid in illustrating doubtful interpretations.

Kai Káuś

No 3.

Lakhnauti, A. H. "691, 693,"³ and 694-695

Silver. Size, vii Weight, 168 grs. Very rare. Plate I. fig 2:
Type, as in the previous coins

Obv.

Rev.

السلطان الاعظم

الامام

وكن الدنيا والديس ابو

المستعصم

المطهر ككاوس سلطان

امير المومس

بن سلطان بن سلطان

حرب هذا الفضة بحجرت لكهوتي ستة خمس وتسعين وستماية،

.....

bin Altamsh, and Ibrahim bin Firúz all entitle themselves **بن السلطان**. Bal-
ban, Kai Kubád, Jalál ud-dín Firúz, and the great Alá-ud-din Muhammad Sháh
have to be content with their own self-achieved **السلطان**.

¹ Minháj-ul Sirr, p. 263.
وہ جتر برداست لعل و سیاہ و مہید
دیتو، p. 181, A. H. 625
و جتر سز یافت

² Nahu Rajendra lál Mitra notices four coins of this king with the dates 691 and 693 Journ. As Soc Bengal, 1864, p. 679. He was disposed to read the mint as Sunárgaon. Of Col Guthrie's three specimens, two bear distinct traces of the name of Lakhnauti.

II.—SHAMS-UD-DIN FIRUZ.

Whatever may have been the actual date of Násir-ud-dín's decease or political obscurity, we tread upon more firm ground in the conjoint testimony of the coins and the historical reminiscences of Ibn Batutah, in the assurance that his son, Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, was in full possession of power in Western Bengal at the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father, in 722-3 A.H.¹ The African traveller incidentally mentions that, to the court of this southern monarch fled the nobles who had engaged in the contemplated treason, which originated in the camp of the army of the Dakhin, of which the imperial heir was commander. Professedly written history is altogether at fault in establishing the existence or illustrating the reign of this sovereign; and even Ibn Batutah² does little more than place upon

passage, which was clearly wanting in the MSS at his disposal

ذكر سلطان منجائه وهو السلطان ناصر الدين الملقب بشجرة
سلطان. فاضل. محبت في العرباء وخصوصاً الفقراء والمستوفى وكانت
مملكته حده البلاد للسلطان ناصر الدين بن السلطان عات الدين
بلبن وهو الذي ولي ولده معز الدين الملك بدخلى فتوجه لقتاله والتقى
بالهزم وسمى لتأولهما لتأ السعديين وقد ذكرنا ذلك وانه ترك الملك
لولده وعاد الى منجائه فاقام بها الى ان توفي وولى امه شمس الدين

record the affiliation, elevation, and decease of Shams-ud-din, whose own coins alone furnish the additional item of his regal name of Fîrûz; and in their marginal records establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnauti during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and at some moment of

الى ان توفي فولى. امته شباب الدين الى ان غلب عليه اخوه
غياث الدين بيادور بور فاستنصر شباب الدين بالسلطان عياث الدين
تعلق فصره واخذ بيادور بور اميراً ثم اطلقه ابيه محمد لما ملك
على ان يقاسمه ملك فنكث عليه فقاتله حتى قتله وولى على هذه
البلاد صبراً له فقتله العسكر واستولى على ملكها على شاه وهو اذذاك
بلاد اللكوتى فلما راي فخر الدين ان الملك قد خرج عن اولاد
السلطان ناصر الدين وهو مولى ليم خالف بسدكاواں وبلاد بنجانه
واستقل بالملك واشتدت الفتنة بينه وبين على شاه فاذا كانت ايام
الشتاء والوحل اعار فخر الدين على بلاد اللكوتى في البحر لقوته فيه
واذا عادت الايام التي لامطرميا اعار على شاه على بنجانه في الر
لقوته فيه

Vol. IV p. 213, Paris edition

TRANSLATION

as mit en marche pour combattre ce fils, ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du

his ownership the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonargaon. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the superogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as السلطان

Shams ud din Firuz Sháh

No 4

Lakhnauti, A H 702,¹ 715 (Col Bush) 720, 722

Silver Size, vii Weight, 168.4 grs Very rare Plate I, fig 3
Type as above

Obv

Rev

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| السلطان الاعظم | الامام |
| شمس الدین والدين | المستعصم |
| ابو المظفر فرور شاه | امير المومنين |
| السلطان | |

Margin, ضرب هذا الفضة تحريت لکھوتی ستہ عشرین و [سعمایہ]

No 5

Sonargaon, A H ?

Silver Size, vii Weight, 168 grs Unique
Type as above

III—SHAHAB UD DIN BUGHRAH SHAH

Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shahab-ud din, the son of Shams-ud din Firúz, and grandson of the once recognised heir apparent of Balban.

¹ See also Pathan Sultans of Hindostan p 37 coin dated 702 A H. This coin was published by me in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A H. I was not aware at the time of the use of Arabic numbers, and probably from myself I may the more rely upon the attention this fact as I am at present unable

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if Calcutta selections be not at fault¹—to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as سعد; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of بغر, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of *عراخان*,² a name which was even further distorted from the Túrki original by the conversion of the medial *r* into the vernacular *cerebral* ج or $\text{ج} = d$. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenor of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintages, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghíás-ud-dín *Bahadur Sháh*, who in 724 A.D. drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín to take refuge with Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,³

¹ The name of this king does not appear in any of Rajendra lál's lists.

² The ancient name of طبع عراخان of Bokhára notoriety in 350 A.D. (Fiehn *Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum*, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final *j* in place of the vowel *i* is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an *j* (iii. 231, 5, 293). Ferishta (*hist.* p. 131) has بقرا, whence Stewart's *Bagora* (p. 74). Dow gave the name as *Kera*, and Briggs as *Kurra* (l. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

as far as the exercise of his Mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have been lost to fame, from the date when he was absorbed with an associate fugitive brother (Násir-ud-dín) under the regis of the Emperor of Delhi

is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities, and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr Mills' translation of the brief passages which may chance to illustrate the general subject

Verse 6

सहायदीनादिदुष्टात्मयवनेन्द्रमहम्मदा ।

सैराजो मि[लितोऽम]ात्यो विरियापि कृपानिधिः ॥

"By MUHAMMAD, lord of the hostile Yavanas SHAHÂN UD-DIN and the rest, though an enemy, was SAI RAJA, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister"

Verse 11

संवत् १३९० भाद्रपदि ५ गुरौ सैराजदेवनगर

यागतमलिकसहायदीनरचितं ॥

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on

و ملک سدار حلیمی را قدر حان خطاب کرده چون شاد ناصر
الدین فوت شده بود اقطاع لکپوتی باو داد (p 244) درین وقت
یکی از نوکران قدر حان که او را ملک بحر الدین گمشتی بعد از
فوت سرام حان در سکالہ یعنی وررید و قدر حان را کشته حرای
لکپوتی متصرف شد

See also Briggs Translation, i pp 412, 423

The Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī has the name in manifest mistranscription as Bandar

و ملک سدار حلیمی قدر حان شد و اقطاع لکپوتی یادست

Shahāb ud dīn Bughrah Shāh

No 6

Mint, 2

Silver Size, vii Weight, 168.5 grs Two coins only, Col
Guthrie Plate I, fig 4

Type as usual

OBT

REV

السلطان الاعظم

شهاب الدناو الديس

ابوالمطهر بعدد شاه

السلطان بن سلطان

الامام

الستعتم

امير المؤمنين

Margin, (remainder illegible)

مرتب حدال

IV —BAHADUR SHAH

The single point in the biography of Bahadur Shāh, which remains at all obscure, is the date of his first attaining power. Ibn Batutah records with sufficient distinctness that he conquered and set aside his regnant brother *Shahāb ud dīn*, sometime prior to Ghias ud dīn Tughlak's reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offend-

ing Bahadur, who was, however, soon to be released, and adorned with added honours,¹ by Muhammad bin Tughlak, soon after he had lost immediately on his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahadur to Eastern Bengal by 'Ala ud dīn Muhammad in A.H. 799,² assigning to him an inconceivable interval of

چون سلطان ناصر سا کامی را ملک اود رحمت کرد آنچه در

بعد دو حراته بود بکار در اعام اوداد

Tabakāt : Akbari

See also Zik : Barni, printed ed t, p 461

² Stewart, p 75 Ferishtah (Briggs) : 406

placid repose until A.H. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated.

The two statements are certainly at variance, but Ibn Batutah's is the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the up to this time legible dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kooch Bahár *trouaille*, but I have none as to the clear expression of A.H. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the عشر = 10 for عشرين = 20;¹ which would bring the corrected range of Bahádur's dates to 720-724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate place of mintage, for in 720-722, his father, Shams-ud-din Firúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated "*Lakhnauti*;" but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádur, in the earlier days, used the name of *Lakhnauti* as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the Eastern capital "*Sonárgaon*," occurs on a coin of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of Urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádur of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning might be designed, as implying that Bahádur himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

¹ Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal Mint Masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or omission of the conjunction *wa*, which, as a rule, is required to couple the *units* and the *twenties*, but is not used with the *units* and *tens*.

Tughlak Sháh's intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádur. The result of the Imperial expedition to the South was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádur Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Saltán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordinary local governor, transferable at will, and that possibly the interests of the father and son, in their newly-established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Suzerains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 9, in the legends of which Bahádur acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A. H. 628.¹ The subjection seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as sometime in or after the year A. H. 730 Bahádur appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title *Ghláspúr* (coin No. 8), and in A. H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

troupes dont le commandant était Dillí, a'ltary (دلی اتری) Elles combattirent Ghiváh eddín et le tuèrent, elles le dépouillèrent de sa perruque, qu'on rembourra de paille, et qu'on promena ensuite dans les provinces — Vol. II, p. 318.

iv. Bahádur Sháh.

No. 7.

Lakhnauti, A.H. 710?, 711, 712, 7-3, 7-4,¹ *break*, 720, 721, 722.

Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167.5 grs. Rare.

Oav.

Rev.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| السلطان الاعظم | الامام |
| غياث الدنيا والدين | المستعصم |
| ابوالمظفر بهادر شاد | امير المؤمنين |
| السلطان من سلطان | |

Margin, ضرب هذ النقة بحضرت لكهنوتي سنة احد عشر وسعمائة

No 8.

Second Mint, Gháspúr. Date, 730

Silver. Size, vii. Weight, 166 and 164.5 grs. Very rare.
Two coins *Col Guthrie*. Plate I., fig 5.

Margin, * هذ السكة قصبه غياثپور سنة ثلاثين *

iv. Bahádur Sháh,

as Vassal under Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No 9.

Sonárgaon, A.H. 728

Silver. Weight, 140 grs. Unique *Dehli Archaeological Society*.*Obverse*, السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بهادر شاد
السلطان ابن السلطان*Reverse*, Area, ضرب بامر الوائق بالله محمد بن تعلق شاد

Margin, هذه السكة بحضرة ساركانوسه ثمان وعشرين وسعمائه

¹ The dates 7-3, 7-4, may perchance be obliterated records of 723 and 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.

Muhammad bin Tughlak Shāh, Emperor of Hindustan
(in his own name) after the re-conquest of Bengal

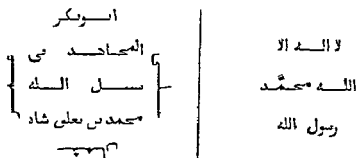
No 10

Lakhnauti, A.H. 733 ~

Silver Small coins Size, v to $v\frac{1}{4}$ Weight of well preserved
coins 168 5 grs Five specimens, Col Gutrie Plate I, fig 6

Obv

Rev



Reverse, Margin,

صرت ددد الله بشر لكسوي سه ثلاث وثلاثين وسعمائة

If the place of mintage of these imperial coins had been illegible, I should almost have been prepared on the strength of the peculiarity of the forms of the letters, to have assigned their execution to a Bengal artist. The original model for the type of coinage may be seen in fig 90, page 54, Pathan Sultans. The late Mr G Freeling of the Bengal C S, has left on record his acquisition of a gold piece of the same design (from the Delhi Mint) dated A.H. 725

V — FAKHR UD DIN MUBARAK SHAH

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tatar Khān, honorarily entitled Bahram Khan, an adopted son of Ghias-ud-din Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sonargaon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom of Bengal was entrusted to Kadr Khan. On the death of Bahram Khān¹ which is stated to have taken place in 739—but may probably have to be antedated to 737—Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak his *Sikandar*, took possession of the government and proclaimed his independence. He was in the first instance defeated by

¹ Nizam u'd-din Ahmad says, Mubarak killed Bahram Khan. — Abul Fazi affirms that Mubarak put Kadr Khān to death. — *Ajma-i Akbari* i. 21

VII.—IKHTIAR-UD-DĪN. GHĀZĪ SHĀH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sonárgaon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubárák still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dīn and his execution by 'Alí Mubárák in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Ilías "one year and five months afterwards."¹

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubárák was succeeded by his own son, as the *Ul Sultán bin Ul Sultán* may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Ghāzī Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sonárgaon by Ilías, in A.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III assailed him in his newly consolidated monarchy in 754.²

¹ Stewart, p. 83

² Shams i-Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dīn Ilías captured and slew Fakhr-ud-dīn after Fírúz III's first expedition into Bengal, and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of reasserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dīn.

Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Tattah, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Guzrát.—Shams i-Siráj, book II cap. 9, etc.—See also Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis' abstract translation), 1849, p. 15

The *Tārīkh-i-Mubárák Shāhi* (dedicated to Mubárák II), the concluding date of which is 833 A.H., also declares that Hájí Ilías killed Fakhr-ud-dīn in 741 A.H. This last date is a manifest error, as is also, probably the omission, by both authors, of the words *son of* before the name of Fakhr-ud-dīn

Ilītiār ud dīn Ghāzī Shāh

No 13

Sonārgaon A R 751-753

Silver Size, vi Weight, 166 grs Very rare indeed Three
coins, Col Guthrie Plate I fig 9

OBY

REV

السلطان الاعظم

يحيى الجلعجه

احسان الدنيا والدن

ناصر امر

اسو المطعر بارشاد

الموسس

السلطان بن السلطان

Margin,

صرف دده السكه محره حلال ساركا بوسه احدى وحسن وسعماه

VIII —SHAMS UD DIN ILIAS SHAH

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches—the suggestive development of obscure tradition and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archaeological functions in the present series declares itself in the accession of Ilias Shāh the first recognised and effectively independent Moslem Sultān of Bengal the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introduction to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal¹ adopts the conclusion that Hājī Iliās first obtained power on the assassination of "Alī Mubārak" in 745 C but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one will prepare the reader for the corrections involved though not

¹ Stewart, p 83

perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallion testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Alī Shāh and Hājī Ilās, before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilās is seen to have coined money in Fīrūzābād in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Alī Shāh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahār hoard reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Alī Shāh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Fīrūz III. to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental suzerain—resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country¹—which effectively laid

واکداله نام موضعی است بر دیک پدوه که یک طرف آن آب
است و طرف دوم جنگل است در آن اکداله تحصیل کرد و از پدوه

مردم کارامده را با رن و بچه در اکداله برد
P 588, printed edit Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca "Map of Hindoostan."

a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis —

(فیروز شاه) در پدوه رسد در آن مقام خطبه بنام حضرت فیروز
شاه خواندند و نام شهر فیروز آباد نهادند چون سلطان فیروز شاه
اکداله را آزاد پور نام کرد و شهر پدوه را فیروز آباد * * * * *
آزاد پور عرب اکداله و فیروز آباد عرب پدوه

From the original MS in the possession of Zīā ud dīn Khān of Lohārū

the foundation of the ultimate independence of Bengal. A monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shir Shah, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and to eject from Hindustán the Moghuls who too hastily boasted of an easily achieved conquest of the country "from Bhíra to Bahár"

Shams ud dín Ilias Shah

No 14

Firúzabad, A II 740, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758

Silver Size, vii Weight, selected specimens, 168 0 grs, ordinary weights 166 0 grs

Type No 1 The old Dehli pattern

Obverse, Square area

Reverse, Square area, within a circle

Obv

Rev

السلطان العارِى

شمس السدا والديس

ابو المظفر الماس

شاه السلطان

مكدر الثانى

يمس الخلافة ناصر

امر المومس

Margin,

سرب هدا لعة السكة فى البلد مروراناد سة اربع وخمس وسعمائة

Type No 1 Variety A Silver Size, vii Weight, 166 grs

Obverse, Lettered surface

Reverse, Small circle, area

No 15

Firúzabad, A II 758

Type No 2 Broad coin Size, ix Weight of the best and selected specimens 166 0 grs only

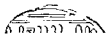
Obverse, Plain lettered surface

Reverse Circular area, with narrow margin

Legends, both obverse and reverse as in No 1 type

Marginal legend,

سرب هده السكة سحرر مروراناد سة ثمان وخمس وسعمائة



11



14



15



16

The Kooch Bahár treve must have been rich in this type of coin, and of the particular year A H 758, as out of 100 specimens in Col Guthrie's collection, there is no single example of any other date

No 16

Sonárgaon, A H 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758

Type No 3 Size, VII Present weight, 166 grs after the obvious reduction by boring out Plate II, fig 10

Obverse, Square area

Reverse, Circular area, with broad margin

Obv

Rev

السلطان العادل

شمس الدبى والديس

ابوالمطهر الياس

شاه السلطان

سكندر الثانى

يمنى الخلافة

امير المومس

Margin,

صرب هذه السكة بحضرة حلال ساركا نوسة خمس وخمسين وسعمائة

IX—SIKANDAR BIN ILIÄS

This king—the second only in the still incomplete assertion of local independence of allegiance to the throne of Dehli—exhibits in the material wealth of his national coinage the striking progress incident to comparative freedom and identity of home interests, which may be achieved, almost on the instant, by the denizens of a commercial centre so favoured by nature as the Delta of the Ganges

Tried by such a test, few statistical returns could present more effectively the contrast disclosed in the Kooch Bahár treasure between the accumulated produce of the Bengal Mints, representing a century and a quarter's limited activity, attended with all the advantages of a diffused circulation, but under a subordinate government, as compared with the overwhelming array of coins bearing the impress of a single unfettered monarch, whose money was, in effect, new from the dies. To numismatists the enhanced proportion will

be more significantly shown by a reference to the additional number of Mint-cities, the singular variety of new types produced, and above all, by the sustained series and corroborating re-

latter aspect
history of a
Sikandar Sh.
end of 759
support the c
758 recorded
accession of t
obtained—un
achieve releas
cession to the
dently, the ri
in his own c
some of the
humility in
hered to, in
of any possi
tion of comp
independent
the طاب العلم
father, and, at
more definite

are discovered in the metropolitan issues of 766-780 (No 22), while special service against the infidels seems to be implied in the novel intitulation of العاهر الادا الله, 'The conqueror of the enemies of God,' on the Firuzabad money of 769 A H (No 23)

But the most interesting details furnished by Sikandar's coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Moslems, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts—conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress—over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost un-

It is under the
o comment on the
old in other pages
father towards the
period sufficiently
power, in the final
though proof of the
c seeming anomaly
father and son to
suzerain—of a con
power, and, coinci
own name, whether
ral cities. Though
e evidence of due
ie simplicity is ad
after the removal
ions to the adop
ough in the more
758 A H (No 21)
the life time of the
assumptions, and a
uerarchical honors

precedented: their various capitals, situated within easy distance of one another, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the Great Ganges or the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix of *حضرت* to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.

Sikandar's mint cities were five in number—No. 2, *Firūz-ābūd*; 3, *Satgaon*; and 4, *Shahr Nau*, in Western Bengal; with 5, *Sonārgaon*; and 6, *Muḏzamābad*, in the Eastern division of the province.

2. The first-named mint, in addition to the preferential *Hazrat*,¹ is styled variously *Baldat* and *بلدة المحروسة* “fortified city,” a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of *Akdālah*, so celebrated in the military annals of the time (coin No. 26).

3 *Satgaon* is distinguished by the prefix of *عَرَصَة* (Atrium) a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country,² a sense which would well accord with its application to *Satgaon*, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper.³ In the subsequent reign of Aāzam the mint specification is more directly brought into

¹ *حضرت* “*Presentia, Majestas, urbs, in qua est regis sedes*”

² *عرصة زمین* in Persian, means “surface of the earth” Sir Henry Elliot remarks, “The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *Pergunnah* were *سوق*, *خطه*, *عرصة*, *دیار*, *ولایت*, and *اقطاع*—Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, “*Carahr*”

³ *Zil-i-Barni*, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Shāh's expedition to Bengal (A n 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions of “*Lakhnauti*, *Sonārgaon*, and *Satgaon*” (p 450, printed edit)

The *Avān-i-Akbari*, in the XVI cent. A D, thus refers to *Satgaon*, “There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other, one called *Satgaon*, and the other *Hoogly* with its dependencies, both of which are in the possession of the Europeans”—Gladwin, n p 15. See also Rennell, p 57. Stewart's Bengal, pp 186, 240, 243, 330.

when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of المعظم, without trenching upon the superlative الاعظم usually reserved for the reigning monarch. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the اعظم آباد (No 19) of 760 A H, to the بلدة المعظم معظماباد, "the great city of Muázam-ábád" (No 28) of about 780 A H, till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial حصرة حلال of Eastern Bengal (No 32 A).

With a view to keep these brief geographical notices under one heading, I advert for the moment to No 7, *Ghiaspúr*, of which locality I have been able to discover no trace, and likewise anticipate the due order of the examination of Aázam Sháh's mint cities in referring to the solo remaining name of *Jannatabad*, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyun to the re-edified Lakhnauth,¹ but which is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the Moghuls made their way into Bengal.

The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to Aázam's mints is the substitution of the word نصبة in lieu of بلدة as the prefix to Firuzábád (No 35), in parallel progress towards centralization with the Mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

Sikandar Shah bin Ildas Shah

No 17

Firuzábád, A H 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 758, 759, 760

Type No 1 Ordinary simple obverse, with reverse circular area and margin

¹ *Ajín-i Akbari* ii p 11, Stewart's Bengal, 124 Bengal itself was called حة البلاد, The Paradise of Regions. Ibn Batutah, iv p 210 says the Persians called Bengal دوزخ نور نعمة, "ce qui signifie, en arabe 'un enfer rempli de biens'. Marsden Num Orient p 578 gives a coin of Alá ud din Husain Sháh of A H 917, purporting to have been struck at 'Jannatabad' بلد, regie also oppidum. The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بلد and بلدان.

| Obv. | Rev. |
|---------------|---------|
| سکندر شاه | المجاهد |
| ابن الناس شاه | في سسل |
| السلطان | الرحمن |

Margin,

صرب هذه النصف السكه في البلده مروراناد سه ثلاث وحمسن وسعمايه

No 18

Sonargaon, A II 756, 757, 759, 760, 763

Type No 2 The usual lettered obverse with circular area and margin reverse

| Obv | Rev |
|---------------------|---------------|
| المجاهدي | يمن حلقه |
| سمل الرحمن | الله ناصر امر |
| سکندر شاه ابن الناس | الموسس |
| شاه السلطان | |

Margin,

صرب هذه السكه محصره حلال سارگانوسه ستس وسعمايه

No 19

Muāzamābad, A II 760, 761, 763, 764 Plate II fig 12

Variety A

Margin,

صرب هذه السكه اقلسم معظم اناد سه احدى وسس وسعمايه

No 20

Fīruzābād, A II 764

Variety B

No 21

Sonargaon A II 758, 759

Type No 3 As usual

OBY

REV

السلطان المعظم
مكدر شاه
ابن الـساس شاه
السلطان

يمين خلعه
الله ناصر امير
المؤمنين

Margin as usual.

No 22

Firuzabad, A II 765, 766, 770, 771, 772, 773 776, 779 780

Type No 4 Coarse coins badly formed letters *Obverse*, simple
lettered surface *Reverse*, circular area

OBY

REV

الامام
الاعظم ابو
المجاهد مكدر
شاه ابن الـساس
شاه السلطان

يمين خلعه
الله ناصر امير
المؤمنين
جلد الله خلعه

Margin هذه السكه محصرت ودرور اناك سه سعن وسعماده

No 23

Firuzabad A II 769

Silver Size VII Weight 166 grs Very rare Plate II fig 11

Type No 5 Similar design to type 1

| Obv | Rev. |
|-------------|-----------|
| أبو المصباح | ناصر |
| مكدر شاد | لدين الله |
| السلاسل ابن | القاهر |
| السلطان | أعدا الله |

Margin,

عرب هده السكه ائسكه في المده مروزاناد سه تسع وشتس و *

No 21

Satgaon, a n 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 788 Plate II fig 13

Type No 6 *Obverse*, a quadrated scalloped shield, with open bosses on the margin containing the names of the "four friends," the intermediate spaces being filled in partially with the king's titles

Reverse, hexagonal star shaped lozenge, with exterior marginal legend

| Obv | Rev |
|---------------|--------------------|
| مكدر شاد | يمس |
| ابن الماس شاد | حلمه الله ناصر امر |
| السلطان | الموسس حلد الله |
| | حلاه |

Obverse Margin,

الامام العالم العادل ابو المصباح — ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Reverse Margin,

عرب هده السكه المباركه في سرحه ستكانو سه احد وثمانس وسعمانه

¹ The pattern legend of this mint-die seems to have been taken from oral data, as it is engraved as *أعدا الله* instead of the more correct *أعدا الله*. The increased facilities of intercourse by sea probably aided the colloquial know-

No 25

Shahr Nau, A H 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786 Plate II fig 14

Type No 7 *Obverse*, a simple octagon, with four circlets in the margin containing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the rest of the exergue being filled in with the king's own titles

Reverse, a diamond shaped area with the crossed lines prolonged to the edge of the piece, the lines are slightly scalloped outwards to form an ornamental field

OBY

REV

سكدر شاه

مس حليته

ابن الناس شاه

الله ناصر امر المؤمنين

السلطان

حلد حلافه

Obverse Margin,

الوثنى بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد

ابوبكر عمر عثمان على

Reverse Margin,

صرب هذه السكه المباركه في عرصه شعربوسه انى وثماس وسعمايه

The name of the mint is imperfectly expressed on even the best specimens, and great latitude has been permitted in the omission or insertion of entire words in the reverse marginal legend

Variety A differs merely in the pattern of the reverse area, which is ornamented with double instead of single scallops

No 26

Firuzabad, A H 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792

Type No 8 *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin divided by circlets enclosing the names of the four friends of the Prophet, the intermediate spaces being filled in with their titles

Reverse, octagonal rose scalloped lozenge, with narrow margin

Obverse,

الوثنى بتايد الرحمن ابو المجاهد سكدر شاه ابن الناس شاه السلطان

Margin,

ابوبكر الاشعث عمر ابوالحليه عثمان المعتم على الامام

Reverse,

نمس الحليّة ناصر امير المؤمنين¹ عون الاسلام والمسلمين حلد حالاته

Margin,

صرب حدّة السكة الماركة في بلدة المحروسة فيروز اباد سنة ثمان وسعمائة

No 27.

Satgaon, A H 780

Variety A Reverse Margin,

صرب حدّد السكة الماركة في عرصة المعمورة ستكانو etc

No 28

Muâzamâbâd (the great city), A H ²

Variety B Mint,

بلدة المعظم معظم اباد

No 29

Shahr Nau, A H 781

Variety C Mint, عرصة المعمورة شربو سه احدى ثمانس

No 30

Col Guthrie has a gold piece of type No 8, size vii and a half, weighing 158 grains. The coin is inferior in execution to the ordinary silver money. The letters are badly formed, and the marginal legend is altogether obliterated ²

No 31

Firuzâbâd, A H 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787

Type No 9 *Obverse*, circular area, with a broad margin, broken by small shields containing the names of the four companions of the

¹ M. Peinaud interpreted the word as *عون*, *Defensor* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1823 p 272), in which he is followed by Marsden (i p 567). Sayul Ahmad again, in his transcript of Ala-ud-din's Inscription of 710 A H, reproduces the title as *عنوت الاسلام والمسلمين*, which on effect, carries a nearly identical meaning (*Asâr ul sunnâdîd*, p 53).

Prophet, the intermediate spaces are filled in with titles which occasionally pertain to the king, but at times exclusively belong to the Imams¹

Reverse, hexagonal field, narrow margin

Obv

Rev

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| ابو المجاهد | يمين حليعه |
| سكدر شاه ابن الساس | الله ناصر امير المومنين |
| شاه السلطان | عون الاسلام والمسلم |
| | جلد ملك |

Obverse Margin,

الامام (ابوبكر) الاعظم (عمر) الوائي (عثمان) نتائد الرحمن (علي)

Reverse Margin,

صرب هذه السكه المباركه في بلدة سرور اباد سه ست وثمان وسبعماية

X —A AZAM SHAH

The accession of Ghiás-ud-din Aâzam Shah was disgraced by rebellion against his own father and coincident open war, in the course of which Sikandar fell in a general action between his own and his son's troops. Native historians are more than ordinarily obscure in the narration of these incidents, and the dates relied upon are singularly untrustworthy when brought to the test of numismatic facts. Aâzam's initial revolt is admitted to have gained force chiefly in Eastern Bengal, where his coinage substantially proves his administrative supremacy, whether as nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority, dating from 772 A H,—an increase of power seems to be associated with the mint record of a hold over Satgaon in 790 A H, and a real or pretended occupancy of a portion of the territory of Pandua in

¹ الوائي in many instances is replaced by ابوالمجلىعه while المعظم follows the name of عثمان.

791, though the final eclipse of the royal titles of the father is delayed till 792 A H¹

Gḥiās ud dīn Aāzam Shah, bin Sikandar Shāh

No 32

Muāzamābād, A H 772, 775, 776

Silver Size, ۷mm Weight, 166 grs Plate II fig 16

Type No 1 *Obverse*, square area occupying nearly the whole surface of the coin, as in the old Dehli pattern.

Reverse, scalloped lozenge, forming an eight pointed but contracted star

Obv

Rev

الموید تائید الرحمن

ناصر الاسلام و

عات الدبا والدس

المسلمين كس

ابو المطر اعظم شاد

امير المؤمنين

السلطان

*Obverse Margin** On the upper edge, ابو بكر, on the left, عمر, in consecutive reading at the foot, عثمان, and on the right, علي

Reverse Margin,

هذه السكة المباركة في بلدة معظماناد سه ثمان وسعس وسعمائة

Variety A In one instance محسرت حلال supplies the place of في بلدة

There is a doubt about the reading of the word كس "being humble," the عس "Oculus" of Marsden would certainly be preferable in point of sense, but the forms of the letters of the word scarcely justify such a rendering unless we admit of an unusual degree of even Bengālī imperfection in the fashioning these dies

On two examples of this mintage in silver, the marginal legend bears the words هذه الديار in clearly cut letters, but I imagine this seeming anomaly to have arisen from a fortuitous use of the dies for gold coins, which, in device, were identical with those employed for the silver money

* Stewart supposes that Sikandar met his death in 769 A H (p 69) and an even more potent error places the decease of Aāzam in 775 A H. (p 93) The *Tahakāt i ikbari* which devotes a special section to the history of Bengal, implies an amiable and undisturbed succession in this instance

No 33

Jannatabad, A H 790

Variety A Similar obverse with circular reverse

Mint, حناباد سنة تسعين و

REV

OBV



No 34

Type No 2 There is a subordinate class of coins, following the devices of Type No 1 (in size VII and upwards), struck from less expanded dies, and generally of very inferior execution in the outlining of the letters. These are also from the mint of Muḥ-zamābād, and are dated in bungled and almost illegible words—سعو سعمانه، ثمانوسعو، ثمانما، احدونما، which may be designed to stand for 770 odd, 778, 780, and 781 respectively

No 35

Fīruzabad, A H 791, 792, 793 794 795, 796 797, 798, 799

Type No 3 Size, VII to VIII½ Weight, 166 grs Plate II fig 15

Obverse, scalloped diamond field, broad margin*Reverse*, circular area

OBV

REV

عاش الدنيا

ناصر امر

والدين ابو المطهر

المؤمن عون الاسلام

السلطان شاه

والمسلمين

السلطان

جلد ملكه

Obverse Margin, السلطان الانظم المودتائند الملك الرحمن*Reverse Margin*,

حددة السكة تتصه سروراباد سنة ثلاث وتسعين وسعمانية

The Reverse marginal records vary in the prefix to the name of the mint from the Kasbah above given *في حرد* and *في حرد الماركة* being occasionally used.

No 36

Satgaon A.H. 795, 798

Variety A

No 37

Satgaon, A.H. 790 795, 796

Type No 4 *Obverse* area, a square with a looped semicircle at each of the sides forming a kind of amalgamation of the margin with the central device

Reverse area, a four pointed star shaped lozenge, the outside spaces being filled in with the marginal legend

OVR

REV

انوبكر
 المود بائد الرحمن
 سات الدبا والدى
 انو المشراف
 شاه السلطان

ناسر اسلام و
 المسلمين كن
 امر المؤمنين

Reverse Margin,

صرب دد السكه * * في حرد بكاو سه نعين وسعمايه

No 38

Type No 5 Size 7 Weight, 166 grains

Obverse lettered surface*Reverse* circular area narrow margin

OVR

REV

سات الدبا
 والدى ابو المظفر
 اعلم شاه
 السلطان

اند الله
 حلد الله درله
 ملكه

Margin?

معصماند سه احد *

The singular orthography adopted in the rendering of the term *Abdallah*, and the substitution of an initial *l* *alif* in lieu of the grammatical *ع* *ain*, affords another instance of the ignorance of the local mint officials, and their tendency to reproduce the approximate *sounds* of words, without regard to the true powers of the letters employed

A vacant space in the final setting up of this article invites me to extend it so far as to notice a limited series of coins which have hitherto been erroneously associated with the mintage of Bengal proper,—I allude to the money of Táj-ud din Firúz, whose date has, in like manner, been misapprehended by Marsden (p 575), and by Mr Laidlay, who follows his interpretation (J A S B xv p 330) The subjoined examples will show that the supposed date of 897 A H should be 807, and the consecutive numbers on the different coins now cited establish the fact that the potentate whose name they bear reigned at least from 804 to 823, having a capital entitled *Hajubad*, which may, with sufficient reason, be identified with the *Hajipur* of modern nomenclature The introductory piece A seems to have been issued by Taj-ud-din's predecessor, and their several mintages alike depart from the ordinary style of Bengal coinages in the phraseology and finished execution of the Arabic legends, as well as in the weights of their currencies, which approximate closely to the full Dehli standard, in contrast to the reduced southern range of 166 grains

A Silver Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ Weight, 165 grs Unique A.H 797

Obv

Rev

الناصر لدين
لديان الحامي
القل الايمان

الوائق بتايد
الرحمن ابو المطهر
محمد شاد السلطان

B Silver Size from vi $\frac{1}{2}$ to viii $\frac{1}{2}$ Weight, 168 grs., the full and sustained weight of several specimens

| Obv | Rev |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| مَلِكًا | تَاجَ الدِّمَا |
| الْعَدُوَّ الرُّومِ | وَالدِّينِ مُرُورِ |
| الْوَالِيَّ نَائِدِ الرَّحْمَنِ | شَادِ السُّلْطَانِ |
| أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ | ٨٠٤ |

Obverse, lettered surface

Reverse, square area, with imperfect marginal records, usually consisting of صَرَبٌ مَحْرُوتٌ حَاحَااد with the figured dates of the foot, ranging onwards from 804 to 807 [Mar'den] 810, 813, 818, 819 820, 822, and 823 A H

These coins are chiefly from the collection of the late Sir J Jenkins, but have now passed into Colonel Guthrie's possession

Among other rare and unpublished coins, having more or less connexion with the progress of events in Bengal, I may call attention to the subjoined piece of Shír Sháh (C), which seems to mark his final triumph over Humáyun in 946 A H and his own assumption of imperial honours in Hindustán. The gold coin (D) is of interest, as exhibiting the model from whence Akbar derived one of his types of money, which Oriental authors would have us believe were altogether of his special origination, even as they attribute so many of Shír Sháh's other admirable fiscal and revenue organizations to his Moghul successor. In coin E we follow the spread of Shír Sháh's power northwards to the ancient capital of the Patháns, and the piece F illustrates the retention of the family sway over the other extreme of the old dominion.

C Silver Size, vi $\frac{1}{2}$ Weight, 163 grs A H 916 Well
executed Western characters

Obverse, السلطان العادل المريد بتأيد الرحمن فريد الدسا والدين

Reverse, ابوالمظفر شمس شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٩١٦

D Gold Square coin Weight, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ grs Unique (R J
Brassey, Esq)

Obverse, the Kalimah

Reverse, شمس شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री सैर सहि

E Silver Size, vii Weight, 168 grs Dehli A H 948

Obverse, Square area لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, the names and titles of the four Imams

Reverse, Square area ٩٤٨ السلطان شمس شاه حلد الله ملكه

At the foot, श्री सीरी साह

Margin, ضرب سكنت دهلي * * *

F Silver Size, viii Weight ? Satgaon, A H 951 (from the
collection of the late G H Freeling Bengal O S)

Circular area, اسلام شاه ابن شمس شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و
سلطانه واعلى امره و شانه

Margin

حلال الدسا والدين ابوالمظفر ساه دسنام ساهي ضرب سكامو ٩٥١

BINGAL WINTS. •

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|---------------|
| | Lakhanauti | Flourished | Satguru. | Chahr Nara. | Satguru. | Minimum. 1843 |
| i Kari Kadda | A H 631 | 630 | | | | |
| ii Shama ud-din | 07 | 20 | | | | |
| iii Shabb ud din | | | | | | |
| iv Bahadur Sháh | 710 712 | 700 702 | | | | |
| Mohammed a Tughak (A new) | | | | | | |
| v Mubarak Sháh | | 733 | | | | |
| vi Ali Sháh | | 712 | | | | |
| vii Ghazi Sháh | | | | | | |
| viii Iltis Sháh | | 710 | | | | |
| ix S'andar Sháh | | 700 | | | | |
| x Akram Sháh | | 701 | | | | |
| xi Akram Sháh | | | | | | |
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BENGAL MINTS.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------|----------|------------|-----------------------|
| | Lahnauli | Firdausabad | Satgaon. | Chahr Niaz | Satgaon. | Chahr Niaz | Mulani 1841 |
| I. Kai Kads | A H 691 695 | | | | | | ... |
| II. Shams-ud din | "02 722 | | | | | | ... |
| III. Shahab-ud din | | | | | | | ... |
| IV. Bahadur Shah | 710, 712.. 720 723 | | | | | | ... |
| Muhammad bin Tughlak (3 used) | " "33 | | | | | | ... |
| V. Maharak Shah | | | | | | | ... |
| VI. 'Ali Shah | | 740 | | | | | ... |
| VII. Ghazi Shah | | " | | | | | ... |
| VIII. Iltas Shah | | 740 749 | | | | | ... |
| IX. S'kandar Shah | | 750 752 | 750 751 753 | 751 753 | 753 755 | 755 757 | 757 759 |
| X. Adzam Shah | | 751 759 | 750 753 | 751 753 | 753 755 | 755 757 | 757 759 |
| Mint No 7 Ghazipur | IV Bahadur Shah, 750 A H | | Mint No 8 Jannatabad | | | | X Adzam Shah, 757 A H |





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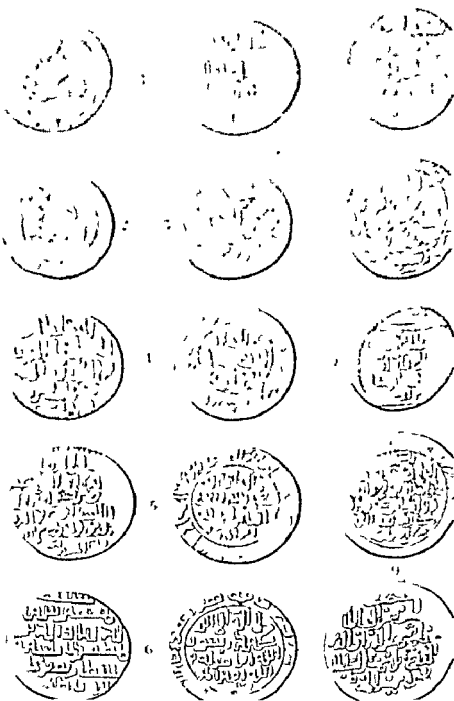


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THE
INITIAL COINAGE
OF
BENGAL,

UNDER THE FARIA MUHAMMADAN CONQUERORS.

PART II

DEALING THE PRINCIPAL PART COINED BETWEEN A.D. 610-634 AND 1217-1226 A.D.

BY
EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1873

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THE INITIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

THE discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Kooch Bihâr, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years¹. The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Rîzîah, A.H. 634-637 (A.D. 1236-1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khilji* and *Turki* troops into the recognized Hindû capital of the lower Ganges.² A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihâr,³ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals; and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compote advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions

¹ Journ. R.A.S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxxvi., 1867, p. 1.

² The name of Nadda, नयद्वीप, *Nanadîpa*, the "new island" (converted into نودیه by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Ganges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

³ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard.

and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púri, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,¹ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *Palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful King of Orissa, Anang Bhim Deo (A.D. 1171-1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesari line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marks* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marks*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted Revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local tradition, defined the *mark* at 5 *mashas'* weight;² while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *karsha*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *sutarna*, i.e. 80 *ratis*.³ Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *mark*, whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 - 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karsha* to be equal to "one *Tolah* or one *Rupce*" of our modern system,—the amount of which, however, he does not further define,⁴—and taking the 180 grain total as the

and to have been built by Yikund Deo, the last Gajapati of Orissa."—*J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

¹ On the above occasion, (knowing, as we are, and well were aware by the Raj's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Rajas, etc., who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They are the *Vira Sri Gajapati*, *Gajendra*, etc. "The *Indra* *Deo*, the *Gajapati* (Lord of Elephants) sovereign of Orissa (Bengal), *Gajendra* *Deo*, over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kinnara, and the *Indra* *Deo*, *Gajapati*, *Gajendra*, etc."—*J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 282.

² *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 271. Mr. Stirling, however, was not aware that the sum named for the total revenue, as noted by the Rajas, was in *marks* of gold, but later investigations fully support the former.

³ *J. R.A.S.*, li., pp. 169, 170. Cf. also the *Pakistan* *Encyclopædia*, li., p. 241.

⁴ "Orissa," a continuation of the *Annals of Rural Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1874).

test,¹ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *marh* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the *ṣatarāṭika*, or 100-*raṭi*² weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tanḥah* of the Pathān dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *tolāh* will come out to the exact second place of decimals of the 43.75 ($175 \div 4 = 43.75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *raṭi* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding unit, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these

Elder, 1872), i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Onest, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *conchus*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the land-

the local name above quoted.

estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Shīr Shāh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratīs* inherited from Hindu sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintage.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject, and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large,¹ I may state generally, that I understand the *ratī* to have been 175 grains, the 100 *ratī* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dehli *tankah*—175 grains. The Rājput *jītal*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dehli currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{4}$ in value of the 175 grain silver coin, but the number of *jītal*s in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *lani*, like the *jītal*, is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *tankah*, but the *lani* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of Metropolitan fabric, where the *jītal* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one lani*.² In more advanced days under the Pathāns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange answering to $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tankah* and under Muhammad Tughlak, amid other useful breaks in the too uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced in the form

¹ Numismatic Chronicle (N. C.) iv p. 40 *et seqq.* J. R. A. S. (N. S.) II pp. 161-163. Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli pp. 161-163. Pp. 160-163.

² Pathān Chronicles vol. II No. 207, l. 252. See also pp. 218-219.

of a $\frac{1}{16}$, or *six-kani* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *Black tankah*.¹

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.² Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dakhin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government.³ But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1488-1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dehli mint; but the Debli silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lakhnauti silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange in even sums against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orissa. Now the gold *mark* weighed, as we have seen, 43.75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equiva-

¹ *PAISAN CHRONICLE*, p. 202. In his previous edition I was led by Ibn Batutah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dinara and Dinars," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it so far supported my estimate of 1:8 (*J. R. A. S.*, II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughlak's reign, the exchange had come to be of the ordinary 1:8. The African tables of (Notice of coins) was 577, 582.

lent, or *two* 175-grain *tanlahs*, reconciling alike the *four*s of the Hindú ideal with the *five*s and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710-730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khilyi*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtýár Khilji in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokót,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J R A S (x s) II, p 157 The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihâr *tromasils* averaged 166 grains, and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard

² Variants *ککوری*—*ککوری* Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's ver-

identified.

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that "it re-

during the

lent, or *two* 175-grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710-730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,¹ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghíás-ud-dín 'Awz bin Al Husain.

Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz *Khilji*, a native of Ghór in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautri.² He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokót,³ by Kutb-ud-dín

¹ J. R. A. S. (v. s.) II, p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Kooch Bihár *treasure* averaged 166 grains, and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

² Variants *کنکوری*—*کنکوری* Text, p. 153, and MSS. I have preserved *Deokót*.

³ Deokót (lat. 25° 18' N., long. 85° 45' E.) is a town in the district of Dináhpúr, that "it received" during the early

panied him to Deokot, where he was formally installed in power. When Kutb-ud dīn died at Lāhor, in 607 A H, 'Alī Mardān assumed independence under the title of 'Alā ud-dīn, but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljī nobles and Hīsam ud dīn was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A H). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams ud dīn Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A H, with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs*?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dehli, made over the government of Bihār to 'Alā ud dīn Jāni, who, however, was not long left undisturbed, for the Southern potentate speedily reannexed that section of his former dominions,—an aggression which was met in A H 624, by the advance of Nāsir-ud dīn Mahmud, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghiās ud dīn Awz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of Government. In the subsequent engagement the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghiās ud dīn killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.¹

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minhāj us Sirāj, that most intelligent employé of the Rulers of Dehli, and welcomed visitor at the Court of Lakhnauti in A H 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A H, and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing that in virtue of his good works, Ghiās ud dīn 'Awz should, in his grave, be endowed with

¹ Allowing Alī Mardān from 607 8 to 609 10 this leaves an interval up to 612 during which Hīsam ud dīn Awz was content to remain head of the Khiljī oligarchy and local governr.

that coveted title of *Sultān*, which had been denied to him while living.¹

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, in Bengal.

No. 1 Silver. Size, 7½ Weight, 168 grs *Unique, in this date.*
Pl. i fig 1. A.H. 614.

OBVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر الشمش التتبي
ناصر امير المؤمنين

REVERSE.

Device.

Horseman at the charge.

Margin—

لا اله الا الله [محمد] رسول الله

تاريخ سنة اربع عشر وستمائة

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal Mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústān, Nāṣir-ud-dīn *Kubachah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Tāj-ud-dīn Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Hisām-ud-dīn 'Awz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the

¹ *Tabakat-i-Nāṣiri*, Text, p. 163. Dr Blochmann has an interesting paper in

Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as

D. and

born

157

native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájput horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,¹ and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bengális,² who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as *القطبي*, the slave or freedman of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg,—a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Kutb-ud-dín as opposed to the Mu'izzi faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

¹ Mahmúd of Ghazni's favourite weapon Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazni—Atkinson, *Expedition into Afghánistán*, p. 222. So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals, in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazni his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

² The name of *Aswapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orissa to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr Hunter remarks, "The Telugu Palm Leaf MSS state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563 three great powers successively arose. During this period the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras, the *Narapatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southward. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former"—*Orissa*, ii, p. 8. *Stirling, Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 254. *Xin-i-Akbari*, Gladwin's translation, i, p. 319. Abúl Fazl, in describing the game of cards affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashwput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alam, and other ensigns of royalty, and *Gajput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king of Orissa."

No 2 Gold Weight 70.6 grs Unique Gaur A N 616¹

OBSERVE

السلطان المعظم

شمس الدسا والديس

أبو المطر السمش

الطلس برهان

أمر المومس

REVERSE

Horseman at the charge

In the field—صرف نكور

Margin—

*** رسول الله بارح سه

ست عشر وسمايه

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the Mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record, indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site on which they were struck. Found however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire, but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance not only in fixing definitively the then head quarters but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,² regarding the use of

¹ Reproduced from the original coin in the collection of Col. Guthrie already published in the *Chronicles of the Isthmian Kings* p. 5

² Kilij Arslan, the Seljuk of Anatolia (A. N. 655) uses the title of *برهان امر* (Frähn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai khvud (A. N. 647) employ the term in the plural *براهن*.

³ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown usage I was disposed

which, at this epoch, there was some controversy.¹ Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب گور, "Struck at Gaur," and although the requisite dot below the گور has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the Mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A H on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islām at Delhi, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Husām-ud-din had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lakhnauti*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Rīshah, in A H. 635²

in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of گور instead of گور, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition ب (Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 79), but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in

manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail

¹ J R A S (N S) II, p. 187 Cf. also Albrúac, Renand, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 298, quoted in J R A S (N S) I, p. 471. As Res ix, pp. 72, 74, xvii 617 Wilson's Glossary, sub voce, etc. Rennell, Map of Hindustān, p. 55. Stewart Bengal, pp. 44, 67.

² Chronicles of the Pathān Kings, p. 107 J R A S (N S) II, p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*

No 3 Silver Size, 7 Weight, 168 grs *Very rare*
Pl 1 fig 2 A.H. 616

OVERSE.

السلطان المعظم
شمس الدسا و الدیس
ابو المظفر الممش
القطبی درخان
* *

REVERSE.

Horseman at charge

Margin—

لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله
تاريخ سنة ست عشر و ستماية

No 3a Variety Weight, 162 grs Pl. 1 fig 3 Date—
illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very
imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the
insertion of the Hindi letters *श*, for *Shah*, above the name of the
king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local
public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the
newly imported letters of the conquerors.

COINS OF HISAM UD-DIN 'AWZ

No 4 Silver Size, 7½ Weight, 161 grs (full weight)
Pl 1 fig 4 A.H. 616 (7 specimens.)

OVERSE

السلطان
المعلم عاتق اندسا
و الدیس ابو النعم
عوض بن الحسن ناصر
امير المومنین

REVERSE

لااله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله
Margin—
صرف عدد السكة في
شور سنة ست عشر و ستماية

Coin No 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in
the early part of which *Hisam ud-din 'Awz* had confessed
allegiance to *Altamash*, he seemingly grew weary of such

pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultan* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghias-ud din*, and the quasi hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Nazir Amir Al Muamminin*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful" Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear, but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse

At this particular juncture Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N W frontier The all powerful *Ala ud din Muhammad Khwarizmi*, whose outposts extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghazni* throughout the years 613, 614-616 A H,¹ and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent, and advance into Hindustan. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalal ud din* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of *Changiz Khan*, in 618 A H

The mention of *Changiz Khan* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of *Minhaj us Siraj*—where the name of *Changiz Khan* *حجگر خان* has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jaynagar* *جائنگر*

¹ J R A S IX p 381 XVII p 20² Chronicles of Pathan Kings p 86

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the *enigma* they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Changíz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lakhnautí) the memorable battle of Perwán [$35^{\circ} 9' \text{ N.}, 69^{\circ} 16' \text{ E.}$] on the conveniently converging site of Budaon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Ferishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of *جاسكر* inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "*converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars*" (Stewart, p. 62) ¹ I myself prefer the

more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.¹

No. 5. Silver. Size, 8½. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens)

| OBVERSE. | REVERSE |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| السلطان | لا اله الا |
| المعظم غياث الدنيا | الله محمد رسول |
| والدين ابو الفتح عوض | الله |
| بن الحسين ناصر امير | نرب هذه السكه في—Margin |
| المومنين | التاريخ السابع عشر وستمايه |

No 6. Silver Size, 8 Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends) A.H. 617 (2 specimens)

| OBVERSE. | REVERSE. |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| السلطان الاعظم | لا اله الا الله |
| غياث الدنيا والدين | محمد رسول الله |
| ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين | الناصر لدين الله |
| ناصر امير المومنين و | امير المومنين |
| ولي عبده علا الحق | نرب هذه السكه في—Margin |
| والدين | شهوره اسع عشرة وستمايه |

¹ Cf Elphinstone (new edit by Professor Cowell), p 377. Elliot, Muham-
madan Historians, II, pp 264, 344 Dr Lee's Ibn Batutah, Oriental Tr Fund,
p 97. Ferishtah, Bombay Persian Text, I, p 122 Badaoni, Calcutta Persian
Text, p 83 Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri, Calcutta Persian Text, pp 167, 163, 199, 243, 245

No 6a Variety One example gives the altered marginal reading of

مرتب هذه السكه في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع * * سمايه

Al Núsir le-dîn Illah was invested in the Khilâfat in A H 575, and died on the 1st Shawwâl, A H 622 (5th October, 1225 A D) Bar Hebraeus, *Abulfaraj*, pp 269-301 Ibn Asir, p 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazân Price, *Muhammadian History*, II, p 210

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiâs ud-dîn 'Aîz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al 'Azam*, "the highest," as the prefix to the *Al Sultan* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azam*, "the great" ¹ Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalîf of Baghdad, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of "*Commander of the Faithful*"

It would appear from this innovation, as if Ghiâs-ud din had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdad, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No 6a, a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mint ages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance

¹ Altamahh himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction but its importance is shown in the early coinages of Muhammad bin Sâm, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative المعظم And further to mark these gradations, he promptly adopts the higher title after his brother's death *Chronicles of Pathân Kings*, pp. 12, 13 14 *Annales Antiquas* pl. XX figs 29 30

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. i. fig. 5.¹ Dated
20th of Rab'ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens)

OVERSE.

غياث الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح هو
ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المؤمنين
سلطان السلاطين في الدنيا
والدين ابو المطر على يده
امير المؤمنين
خالد الله ملكه

REVERSE.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
السائر لدين الله
امير المؤمنين
في التاريخ العشرين—Margin
من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
عشرين وستمائة

No. 7a. Variety. Weight, 163 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of غياث into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second *والدين* reads more as *معز*, while the suggested *يده*, above given, appears as *مدنو*.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghíás-ud-dín's designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos 7 and 7a, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of السلطان الأعظم, we find him calling himself "*Sultán of Sultans*," by direct appointment of the Khalif,² associated with which is the entry

.....

² The term *علي يدي* is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as *علي يدي أحمد* which is translated by Fréhn as "*manibus*" (*à c. curâ et operâ*), *Ahmadis* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de,*" etc

of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultan*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Hisam ud din*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiyas ud din*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly erected kingdom of Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lakhnauti. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,¹ marking his attainment of the like honours in A H 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword. and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Gauges and the sea port of Bussorah.

In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

¹ Initial Coinage of Bengal, J. R. A. S. (v. s.) II p. 154 No. 1 note. Chron. des of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course the exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A H 611 etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTANSH

No 8 Silver Size 8½ Weight, 168 grs Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Lāhor or some northern Mint¹ Pl 1 fig 6 A H 62*?

| OBVERSE | REVERSE |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| السلطان | لا اله الا الله |
| المعظم شمس | محمد رسول |
| الدين والدنيا | الله الصالحين |
| ابو المظفر ايلش | الله امير المو |
| السلطان يمين جلعه | مس |
| الله ناصر امير | Margin— هذا الحرب ؟ |
| المؤمنين | عشرين وسه مايه |

BENGAL COINS OF ALTANSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS
IMPERIAL SWAY

No 9 Silver Size 8 Weight, 168 grs Bengal type of Coin
A H 622

| OBVERSE | REVERSE |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| السلطان | As in Nos 6 and 7,—Coins |
| المعظم شمس الدين | of Ghias ud din, with the |
| الدين ابو المظفر ايلش | name of the Khalif <i>Al</i> |
| السلطان يمين جلعه | <i>Nasir le din Allah</i> |
| الله ناصر امير المو | Margin— هذا الحرب في شورسه اثني |
| مس | عشرين وسممايه |

¹ Chronicles of the Pathān Kings p 16 Pl 1 figs 4 8

² This word as designating the coin is unusual but we have the term

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A. H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.¹ That the issue, represented by No 9, proceeded from the local Mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No 10 Silver Size 8 Weight 168 grs (2 specimens)
Plate 1 fig 7 A. H. 624

| OBVERSE | REVERSE |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| السُّلْطَانُ الْعَظَم | لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ |
| شَمْسُ الدِّيَا وَالْدِّينِ | مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ |
| أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ أَيْلَشْمَشْ | الظَّاهِرُ نَاصِرُ اللَّهِ |
| السُّلْطَانُ نَاصِرُ أَمِيرِ | أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ |
| الْمُؤْمِنِينَ | صرف حد * * * شہر—Margin |
| | سہ اربع و عشرين و سہ ماہ |

دارالضرب for the Mint, and the صرف حد etc., as the ordinary prefix to the *السکہ* or *المنہ* of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like *العرب*, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Frähn long ago suggested that the word *صرف* ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition *ب* did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the Mint city.

عناث الدین عوض حلیمی رقمہ خدمت در رتہ انقیاد آورد و
سی [می و هشت 162 p.] رخصریل و هشتاد لک مال بداد و
حکله و سکہ نام مبارک شمس کرد— Calcutta 1814, pp. 163, 171

Al Zahir beamrillah the Khalif whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwal, A H 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A H 623 (July 11, 1226 A D) Bar Hebraeus, *Abulfaray*, p 302

No 11 Silver Size 7 Weight 167 grs *Unique* Pl 1,
fig 8 A H 624

Square area, within double lines following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghori's coins.

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدساو الدين

ابوالمطعر ايلشيش

السلطان ناصر

The words *امر المومنين* are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Delhi coins of Bahram Sháh¹

REVERSE

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalif *Al Zahir*

مر * * سه اربع—Margin

وعشرين وسته مايه

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghíás ud dín 'Aíz or Násir ud dín *Mal'múd*—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the Mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos 10 and 11 As regards the latter, at present *unique* piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Delhi models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after Mahmud's defeat of Ghíás ud dín in 624 A H In like manner, the introduction of the term *الاعظم* on No 10, as a prefix to the title of

¹ Chronicles of the Pathán Kings p 118

Sultan Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in *Ghiás ud din's* repentant manifesto in the legend of No 9. Mahmud's appointment to the Government of Oudh dates from A.H. 623,¹ and the tenor of one of the narratives of *Minháj us Siraj* would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay, so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of Altamsh, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as *Ghiás ud din* at and prior to this period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Nasir-ud din Mahmud Shah, as Viceroy in Bengal

The administration of the Bengal Mints under the official auspices of *Nasir ud-din Mahmud*, as developed in the issues Nos 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, reproduced in the woodcut below, under No 12, to the eldest son of Altamsh, at some period towards the close of his brief career.² With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dehli of the reigning Khalif's earliest recognition of Altamsh's supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.³

¹ Persian text, 180

² Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. (N.S.) II p 182. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p 81

³ *Minháj us Siraj* after completing his account of *Nasir-ud-din's* conquest of *Ghiás-ud-din* Awz and the transmission of the spoils to the Sultan at Dehli, continues—

وچوں شریعات دارالحملہ محضرت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراد

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalif, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.¹ Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindústán. Equally, after Mahmúd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dehli, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saraccenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of² the *first* royal tomb of the

رسید ار انجمله یکت تشریف گرامایه نا چتر لعل نظرف لکبوتی
فرستاد ملک ناصرالدین علیه الرحمة ندان چتر و تشریف و اکرام
مشرف گشت و همکسان را ار ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود
که وارث مملکت شمسى او باشد فاما * * بعد ار یکسال و نیم *
برحمت حق تعالی پیوست۔ ۱۸۱ p

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii, pp 326, 329)

The Khalif's emissary arrived at Dehli on the 22nd of Rabi'ul awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p 149, and news of the death of Násir-ud-din Mahmúd reached the capital in the 6th month of the same year, p 174

¹ The founder of the Ghaznavi dynasty, the Great Sabuktigin, assumed regal state under the shadow of a red umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as black for the right wing *رایات میمه ساد* and red for the left wing *رایات* p 144. Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the black pertained to the Ghazis, and the red to the Turks, p 114. Ghias-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm used black and red for the two wings respectively, p 83

² INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTÁN GHÁZI [NÁSIR-UD-DÍN MAHMÚD] AT DEHLI, DATED A.H. 629

امر ساء هندو اله الماركة السلطان المعظم شاهشاه الاعظم

slave kings erected near the capital,¹ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as "King of Kings of the East," implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Gogra.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dehli for twenty years, and the name of Nāṣir-ud-dīn Mahmūd was perpetuated anew in the next generation, under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban's heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings,² who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultāns of Hindūstān

مالك رقاب الامم طل الله في العالم دو الامان لادل الدمه سلطان
السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعايت رب العالمين ابي
المطهر الممش السلطان ناصر امر المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه لروحه
ملك الملوك الشرق ابي الفتح محمود تعمده الله بعفرانه واسكه
كف نعيم حياه في شعور سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة

This Tomb, which is known as the Makbarat of Sultan Ghāzi, stands amid the ruins of the village of Mullikpūr Koyā, about three miles due west of the celebrated Kutb Minār. *Asār-us-Sunnadid*, Dehli, 1854, pp. 23, 30 (No. 12, 13, Facsimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also *Journal Asiatique*, M. G. de Tassy's translation of the *Urdu* text, also *Journal Archaeological Society of Dehli*, p. 67, and *Hand book for Dehli*, 1863, p. 85.

¹ Rukn ud din Firūz Shāh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throne of Dehli, found a final resting place on the chosen site of Mullikpūr, and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu'izz-ud-din *Bakrām Shāh*, followed him into the Tombs of the Kings in the same locality. — *Asār-us-Sunnadid*, pp. 25, 26. *Elliot's History*, vii, p. 382. *Chronicles of Pathān Kings*, p. 200.

² See p. 35 *infra*

No 12 Silver Size 8 Weight, 163.1 grs Unique British Museum



OVERSE

السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ
 نَاصِرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآدِيسِ
 أَبُو الْمُطَمَّرِ مُحَمَّدُ
 شَاهِنِ سُلْطَانِ



REVERSE

مِي عَبْدِ الْإِمَامِ
 الْمُسْتَعْنَصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ
 الْمُرُوسِ

Al Mustansir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H. = 1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al Zahir died —Bar Hebraeus, p. 303

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OVERSE—لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

REVERSE—As above, in No 12, with similarly formed characters¹

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalif's diploma at Delhi in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughlak adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Sháh, with many high sounding prefixes, on the sub-joined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-

¹ Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p. 46

work, which I have relegated to the note below¹. Suffice it to say that *Daulat Shah bin Modud* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as *Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn BALHA*² *Khalij*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the Kingdom of Bengal on the death of *Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd*, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of *Altamsh's* forces in the self-same year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage

در ماه حمادی الاولی سه ست و عشرين و ستمائه حر فوت
ملک سعید ناصرالدین محمود برسد بلکه ملک حلجی در ممالک
لکھوتی عساکر آورد و سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراد لشکری
هندوستان لکھوتی برد و در شهر سه سب و عشرين و ستمائه
آن طاعی را بدست آورد و تحت لکھوتی ملک علاءالدین حاکم
داد علیه الرحمة و در حب خمس سال محضرت خلل دھلی بار
آمد. Calcutta Text, p 173.

سلطان سعد شمس الدین چون بدیار لکھوتی رسید بعد از فوت
ملک ناصرالدین محمود طاب ثراد و دفع سه ملک احتسار الدین
بلکه. Calcutta Text, p 173.

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the ملوک و ارباب of *Sultān Shams-ud-dīn*, we find the following entry دولت شاه حلجی ملک لکھوتی, and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return we read, ملک احسار الدین ایران شاه بلکه حلجی (pp 177 and 178) which latter version is greatly improved by the *Oriental Lord Chamberlain's* list preserved in a MS in the B M (Add. No 26182) which associates more directly the title with the name, and identifies the individual as ملک احسار الدین دولتشاه بلکه.

¹ The word *Balha* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early *Ghaznavi* name of *Balha Tigin*. بلکه means a "camel coat," and بکس is "handsome."

No 13 Silver Size 9½ Weight, 168 Unique Plate 1 fig 9
A H 627 ?

OBVERSE

المستتر بالله

امير المومنين السلطان
الاعظم شمس الدنا والدين
ابو الفتح ابليشمش السلطان
فرهان امير المومنين

REVERSE

السلطان

العدل شهباز دادل
علا الدنا والدين ابو العار
دولشاه بن مودون
عبد حميد الله
طبر امير المومنين

Margin—شور سه سع—

وعشرين وسمائه

The reading of ابو العار is speculative the letters العا are distinct, as are also the two dots of the ي, but that letter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the العا are more like ا or لى than the suggested رى

Inscription of Altamsh

Among the numerous inscriptions of Altamsh already known, no one possesses greater interest than the subjoined, which has lately been published in the J A S Bengal

Budáon was one of Altamsh's earliest charges, and from thence he was called to supreme sovereignty at Dehli on the death of Kutb-ud din Aibeg

*Inscription of Altamsh, on the gateway of the Jam's Masjid at Budáon*¹

ادخلوها سلام آمين السلطان الاعظم مالك رباب الامم شمس

¹ Deciphered by Mr Wilson C S, Budáon — J A S B. 1872 p 112

الذبيح والدين عاثة الاسلام و المشمس اسدل الملوك والسلاط
 انوالمستقر ايلمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين حنّد الله ملكه ني
 شررمضان المبارك سنة ستماية و ثمانه عشرين

Dated, *Ramazan* A.D. 628 [Nov 1230 A.D.]

Coin of Riziah

I conclude this limited series, and complete this section of the numismatic history of the south, by the reproduction of the sole available *dated* coin of Riziah, minted at Lakhnauti, in A.H. 635. After this epoch there follows an interval of more than half a century, during which we discover no coins of Bengal proper. But the year 691 A.H. may be said to inaugurate a new era, represented by the mintages of the more firmly established local kings of the family of Násir-ud-din Mahmúd, the son of Balban, who, perhaps wisely, preferred the placid repose of a *quasi* viceroyalty at Lakhnauti, to the turmoils of the Imperial throne, to which he was the acknowledged heir. He does not seem to have arrogated to himself the right to coin, and it was left to his second son Kai Káus to resume that symbol of independent power.

No 14 Silver Weight, 164.5 grs Size, 7 Lakhnauti, A.H. 635
 The late General T. P. Smith²

OBVERSE

السلطان المشمس
 حلالة الدناو الديني
 ملكه است المش سلطان
 مرة امير المومنين

REVERSE

مي عبد الامام
 المستقر امير
 المومنين

Margin—

سنة هذا السنة بلكوتي سنة
 خمس . ثمان و ستماية

²Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, No. 90 p. 107. A similar coin (wanting the date) is figured and described in the J.L.A.S. (v. 8) II, p. 167.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to extend this paper beyond the exact limit covered by Mr Broadley's collection, in order to gather up such later antiquarian gleanings as chance to illustrate the obscure section of the history of Bengal during the first half century of the 107 years comprised in the Kooch Bihár representative accumulations, which formed the subject of my previous paper on "The Initial Coinage of Bengal" or, in effect, to follow up the local changes, of which we have occasional monumental records, down to the time when Ilías Shah attained independence, and expanded his boundaries and his power into imperial proportions

The energy and research of our fellow labourers in the East has been largely rewarded in these days by the number of inscriptions brought to light in various parts of the country, which have been deciphered, and more or less completely published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the supervision of their critical and indefatigable secretary, Dr Blochmann, to whom we are indebted for such comprehensive analyses of the learning and traditions of the Court of Akbar and subsequent Mughal monarchs

INSCRIPTION A

The first mural record in point of date of which at present only a brief outline is available, consists of the

INSCRIPTION OF TUGHRIL KHAN AT BIHAR,

which is described as pertaining to "an edifice built in A H 640 or A D 1242, by 'Izz ud dîn Abulfath Tughril Khan, who styles himself Sultan, and assumes other regal epithets, as *Khakan ul Mu'azzam*, *Khallada-llahu mulakhu*," etc¹

This is a most suggestive contribution to the other revelations of the condition of the country at this time, from which, on the full decipherment of the original text, we may perchance gain new knowledge of the ever imminent revolutions

¹ J.A.S.B. Proceedings November 1871 p 247

of regnant vassals in *partibus infidelium* against absent Muhammadan Imperors

There is nothing, however, to cause surprise in the assumption of royal titles by Tughril on this occasion, as, although he had been a firm adherent of the Empress Riziah, had been endowed by her with the honours of the *red umbrella*, and had coined assiduously the only silver money bearing her name hitherto discovered, his devotion to the Imperial throne was confessedly shaken after her death, and in this self same year, 610 A.H., taking advantage of the weakness of the reigning monarch at Dehli, he proceeded to annex the province of Karra Mánukpur, which in itself constituted an overt act of rebellion against his Suzerain¹

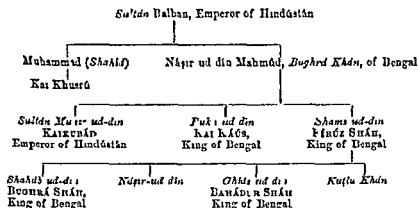
The next division of the Initial Coinage of Bengal brings us into much more definite contact with the realities of mediæval remains, and reminds me that on my first endeavour to identify the Kai Káus of the Kooch Bihár coins, I was obliged to crave indulgence in the mere reading of the dates so incoherently defined on his mintages. I had, for the time to abandon all faith in the units, to claim only dubious credence for the *decimals*, though the *hundreds* necessarily remained beyond cavil, even had the Bengal Mint officials blundered in the definition of the alien Semitic legends with more than their accustomed licence

I was however, venturesome enough on that occasion to suggest—in dotted lines and duly reserved *square* brackets—that the then obscure *Kai Káus* ought to have a place in the family tree of the house of Balban, a claim which had escaped the record of contemporary biographers, or the knowledge of later commentators on the local events in Bengal. I have since found abundant testimony towards establishing his true place both under the one and the other aspect

On a recent occasion of reviewing my previous Essay on the Initial Coinage of Bengal, I embodied, with more confi-

¹ Minhaj us S ráj Pers an text p 243 Stewart's Bengal p 61.

denote,¹ the restored genealogical tree, of which the following is a transcript



In support of this direct line of descent, I can now quote evidence from two confirmatory sources, the incidental mention of Kai Káús as "the second son" of Násir-ud dín Mahmúd, on the eve of the interview of the rival monarchs, Karkubád, the eldest son, *Sultan* of Hindustán, and their father, the occupying Lord of Bengal, which forms the subject of Mir Khusrú *Dehlati's* celebrated poem the "*Kirán-us-S'adam*,"² and, also, the inscription reproduced *in extenso* below, which conclusively identifies the same prince in the paternal relation, and simultaneously attests his eventual regal succession in Bengal

INSCRIPTION B

Inscription of KAI KAUS in Gangarámpur, Dinájpúr, at Damdamah, the old Deokot,³ dated Muharram, 697 A.H. [Oct., 1297 A.D.]

بني حدد العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان السلطان ركن الدنيا
والدين ظل الله في الارض ككاوس شاد بن محمود بن السلطان يمس

¹ Chronicles, p 148

² Professor Cowell's article in Journ As Soc Bengal 1860, p 234, and Elliot's *Historians* iii, p 330

³ See Buchanan's *Dinájpur*, p 50 and *anté*, p 9

خليفته الله ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه نعمان خسرو
 رمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثاني الع اعظم همايون طغر خان
 برام ايتكين سلطانى خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ومد الله عمره بتوليت
 صلاح حيوده ملتاني في العرة من المحرم شهر سنة سبع وتسعين
 وستماية J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 103

DR. H. BLOCHMANN'S TRANSLATION

"This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, Rukn ud-dunyā-waddīn, the shadow of God upon earth, Kai Kāūs Shāh, son of Mahmūd, son of the Sultān, the right hand of the Khalīfah of God, the helper of the commander of the faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by Shihāb-ul-haqq waddīn, a second Alexander, the Ulugh 1 'Azam Humāyūn Zafar Khān Bahrām Itgin—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision (batauliyat) of Salāh Jiwand of Multān On the 1st Muharram, 697 A. H. [19th Oct., 1297]"

I have reproduced in full the above inscription, alike in text, translation, and commentary,¹ as it corrects an avowedly imperfect reading which I had been favoured with by Col Nassau Lees. Dr. Blochmann was so obliging as to forward me an impression of the original, that I might satisfy myself of the accuracy of the translation now given; but I have unfortunately mislaid the *facsimile* reproduction, and therefore abstain for the moment from any further comments.

¹ Dr Blochmann continues —"As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted

Kai Kāūs confessed allegiance to 'Alī ud-dīn of Dabli, who is the Sikandar-ussānt *par excellence*, but the grammatical construction of the sentence, and the *whom*, show that the words 'Sikandar-ussānt, Ulugh 1-'Azam Humāyūn and Zafar Khān,' are merely titles of Bahrām Itgin. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high but my Tribeni inscriptions (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *ulus* names, if I may say so. 'Shihāb ul Haqq wad-dīn,' therefore, is merely the *pu* as name of Malik 'Zafar Khān, *ulus* *ulus*, moreover, 'Shihāb ul Sikandar-ussānt,' cannot be 'Alī ud-dīn, whose full *ulus* name with the *kunyah* was 'Alī ud-dīn *Abulmuwaffar* Muhammad Shih." This inscription is further referred to by Mr W M Hourke (1872, p. 143), who expresses a hope that his new "*pu* bings" now submitted to the Society may resolve Dr Blochmann's doubt regarding a portion of this inscription, and supply the date in his No. 4 Inscription.

INSCRIPTION C.

INSCRIPTION OF SHAMSU'D-DIN FIRUZ OF Bengal, on Zafar Khán's Madrasah, at Tribeni,¹ dated A.H. 713.

الحمد لله الحمد • سبت هذه المدرسة المقامة دارالحجرات 'في
عبد سنية والى المترات' صاحب التاج والجام 'خل الله في العالم'
المكرم الاكرام الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم 'شمس الدنيا و الدين'
المختص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان 'ابو المنقر قمرور
شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه'
J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 297

The text goes on to say that the inscription was engraved under the direction of Khán Muhammad Zafar Khán, on the 1st of Muharram, 713 A.H. Zafar Khán's *Mosque*, in the same locality, bears the earlier date of 698 A.H. (A.D. 1298).

¹ Tribeni or *Tribeni* (as Mr. Money writes it, J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 393), N. of Hugli. Dr. Blochmann adds, "Tribeni is often called *Tripuni* ("three streams"), and by the Muhammadans *Tripuni Shikhar*, or *Firuzdabul* (see also *Kin-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), ii., p. 6, J.R.A.S. (x s.) II (1866), p. 202, *Note 1*, and *Note 1*, p. 203). Dr. Blochmann, in adverting to Marsden's coin of Táj u'd-din *Firuz Sháh* (No. CCCXXVIII., and Landley, J.A.S.B., 1846, pl. v., fig. 17), has followed the old authorities in attributing the piece to a Bengal king of that name, and does not seem to be aware that the coin was minted in the Dakhan in 807 A.H., during the reign of the *Fakhr al-Mulk* Firuz Sháh (A.H. 800 to 823). See my *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 345. On the other part, I have to thank Dr. Blochmann for a rectification, to which he seems to attach an undue importance—J.A.S.B., July, 1872, p. 119. In my recent work just quoted, I had occasion to notice, *en passant*, the contemporary coins of the local dynasties more or less connected with the central Muhammadan Imperialism. Among other hitherto unpublished specimens, I described a coin of "Ahmad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, Alwais, *Al-Lahmani*," (p. 343), dated 856 A.H., and I submitted, without any reserve, in illustration of the piece itself, a facsimile of the original designed and executed by an independent artist—which may be seen to be defective in both the subordinate points, in which Dr. Blochmann has the advantage of me in a better preserved and more fully legible coin lately acquired by Colonel Hyde. I take no blame to myself for reading the *absolutely detached*

روى of the one specimen for the improved الروى of the other, nor am I surprised at the appearance of the concluding word المسمى when it is to be found in the very next page of my work, where I had full authority for its citation.

INSCRIPTIONS D E F

Further Inscriptions of Shams ud din Firuz

Dr Blochmann contributes the following remarks towards the elucidation of some unpublished records of this king

"The inscriptions at Tribeni near Hugh mention the same king (Shams-ud din Firuz) as having reigned in 1313 A.D. Two of Mr Broadley's inscriptions—and this will show the value of his discoveries—prove—

1 That Firuz already reigned in 1309 over (Western) Bengal, or Lakhnauti

2 That South Bihar under him belonged to Bengal, whilst other inscriptions show that Bihâr in 1352 again belonged to Dehli

3 That Shams ud din had a son of the name of Halim Khân who in 1309 and 1315—and hence most likely during the intervening years—was governor of Bihâr " ¹

As respects the later numismatic accessions to this henceforth *second* period of the Muslim annals of Bengal, they may be said to be confined to minor varieties and repetitions of known types whose dates are, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. A single coin of mark claims attention, in the shape of a gold piece of Bahâdur Shah, part of his tribute or recognition money (similar to the silver piece No. 9, O S) coined in his own name, but with the full acknowledgment of the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The piece itself is the property of Mr Delmerick—to whom we owe the first notice of the *unique* coin of the Bactrian king *Plato*, which has lately been secured for the British Museum,—"a medal I may remark, *en passant*, that contributes the most striking testimony to the value of numismatic inquiries perhaps ever adduced, in confirming by the single date, hitherto known in the entire Bactrian series, which appears on its surface, the

¹ The two inscriptions of Halim Khân contain the dates 1309 and 1315—the former inscription seems to have belonged to a Sarai the latter to a Mosque—
J.A.S.B. Proceedngs. 1871 p. 46

² J.A.S.B. February 187 p. 31

real place of mintage of the coins bearing the royal designation of this prince, which later in point of time supersedes the discarded record of "*Lakhnauti*" on the local currency. While the group of "Seven Villages" or Townships in Lower Bengal is defined solely by the appropriate mint term of "*Stigaon*," whose leading centre perhaps oscillated according to the progressive changes of the convenient wharves and landing-places of that emporium. If I could be equally certain of the very reasonable identification of "*Jugdula*" (25° 10' - 87° 58') of our recent surveys,¹ with the "*Akhūlah*" of the Muhammadan historians,² the case would be complete and final in favour of the northern metropolis.

Colonel Haughton's recent investigations enable him to say that *Ghilsapūr* is also "near Gaur, about one mile N W. of Maldah"³ And Dr Blochmann very safely affirms that *Muazzamābād* is in Sonargaon.⁴ A small incidental note will be found at p 9 *antè*, on Deokot and the Muslim Lakhnauti, but the subject under its geographical aspect, promises to repay more ample investigation.

particularly the Addeenah mosque and the pavement of a very long street, which lies in the line of the road leading from Mauldah to Dinagepour' — Rennell, Map, etc., p 86

Stewart's understanding of the localities may be traced in the following passage

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¹ See *Chronicles of Indian Kings* 163. Ain-i-Akbari, ii., p 3, suppt., and Grant's Report, p 372

² *Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, April, 1870, p 121